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THE
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN
SCOTLAND,

ITS ESTABLISHMENT, SUBVERSION, AND
PRESENT STATE.

By JOHN PARKER LAWSON, M.A

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ETC.

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PREFACE.

THIS volume is not a mere history of the Reformation in Scotland, or its causes, which are well known to every reader, but is what its title imports, the last years of the Roman Catholic Establishment—its political and ecclesiastical position at that eventful period—the first attacks made upon it—its struggles for existence—its final subversion—the destruction of its edifices—the alienation of its temporalities—and its present state, after the lapse of three centuries. This subject has been hitherto only partially and hastily alluded to, while at the same time it has been mixed up with political discussions and party prejudices, from which indeed it is difficult to be separated. The following narrative supplies that deficiency, and professes to give a plain detail of facts, from which every reader can draw his own conclusions. Zealously attached to the

Protestant Church, and especially to that branch of it of which he is a member, the author has nevertheless avoided controversy, his object having been to write neither as the partizan of one party nor as the vituperator of another; and he is not without hope that this volume may induce some writer, competent to the task—and one it will be of no ordinary difficulty and labour—to undertake a similar work on the subversion of the Romish Hierarchy in England.

The author flatters himself that he has brought before the reader, in a condensed form, much original and interesting matter procured from authentic sources. The facts connected with the last Roman Catholic Archbishops of Scotland have been carefully collected, the account of the demolition of the Cathedrals and Monasteries has been compiled from authentic sources for the first time published, and the annual rentals of the Bishoprics and Religious Houses are taken from a valuable document preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, which has been compared with the Returns made to the Privy Council of Scotland, in 1562.

The author only adds in conclusion, that the absence of any thing like violent discussion or party feeling in the present volume is a strong inducement

to submit it to the public at this period of excitement on ecclesiastical subjects. Historical facts ought always to be discussed with moderation, while, at the same time, there is no Protestant, of any denomination, who ought not highly to prize the privileges which the remarkable struggle here recorded has procured for him, and watch with jealousy any attempt, however insidious and plausible, to countenance the tenets of a system which are fraught with the most deteriorating consequences to human improvement.

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 government.

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CHAPTER I.

ECCLESIASTICAL STATE OF SCOTLAND AT THE REFORMATION.

PREVIOUS to the reformation of religion in the sixteenth century, the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Scotland had attained a power and influence scarcely surpassed in any country in Europe. Never was an establishment apparently so irresistible or so firmly rooted, whether we take into account the number, ability, and rank of its dignitaries, the energy of its supporters, or the control it exercised over a rude and warlike nation. One half, at least, of property in the kingdom belonged to the church, and its revenues far exceeded those of the crown, the nobility, and the inferior laity. The accumulation of that property, from the time of David I., who himself founded four bishoprics, eleven abbeys, two monasteries, and some minor religious houses, was enormous. Cathedrals and other ecclesiastical buildings were erected, some of which at least equalled similar establishments in Europe, while they had become more numerous than in any other country of like extent and population. The domains belonging to the monasteries comprised the richest soil, and were the best cultivated in the kingdom; the dignitaries were equal in rank to the nobility, and generally were connected with the most ancient families; while the members of these communities had been long revered "as the instructors and spiritual guides of the people, the benefactors of the poor, and the indulgent

masters of numerous vassals and retainers. Their halls were the seats of hospitality, where princes and distinguished persons were entertained, and where minstrels and professors of the liberal arts were welcome guests.”* In those rude ages of the Scottish history, the clergy were the only men of learning and wealth in the nation; and, in the sixteenth century, one half of the public taxes was paid by them alone. Strange, indeed, was that transition, which only a few years accomplished, with respect to that ancient and powerful hierarchy, from a superstitious veneration to a determined resolution for its plunder and destruction. “The unfortunate monks, often, perhaps, deeply wronged, though many of them were doubtless loaded with some just accusations, were driven from their ancient seats; and their magnificent edifices, if the chance of war had not already desolated them, were either demolished by the blind rage of the populace, or left to crumble into premature decay.†”

For many centuries the archbishops of York had claimed jurisdiction over the Scottish church, but this had been constantly and successfully resisted. The city of St Andrews, in Fifeshire, founded in Pictish times, was the metropolitan see, and its bishop, whose rank was similar to that of the archbishops of Canterbury in England, was styled *Maximus Scotorum Episcopus*. The title of archbishop was unknown in Scotland until 1470, when St Andrews was made an archiepiscopal see by Pope Paul II. during the primacy of Patrick Graham. In 1461, during the episcopate of Robert Blackadder, the see of Glasgow was also erected into an archbishopric; and thus the kingdom became ecclesiastically

* Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 10

† Ibid.

divided into two provinces, at the head of which were the two archbishops, whose powers and jurisdiction were finally settled by pontifical bulls, and ratified by royal charters. The archbishop of St Andrews was primate of Scotland and metropolitan.

Besides the two archbishoprics, the seats of which were St Andrews in the eastern, and Glasgow in the western districts of the kingdom, there were in Scotland eleven bishoprics,* namely, Aberdeen, Brechin, Caithness, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Moray, Orkney, and Ross, suffragans to St Andrews; and Argyle, Galloway, and the Isles, suffragans to Glasgow.† Of the limits of these sees we give an enumeration.

The archbishopric and diocese of ST ANDREWS, the seat of which was removed from Abernethy, in Perthshire, the capital of the Pictish kingdom, to St Andrews, by Kenneth III., consisted of the greatest part of the counties of Fife, Forfar, Kincardine, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Haddington, part of Stirling and Berwickshires, and a considerable number of parishes, churches, and chapels, in other dioceses. The cathedral church of the diocese was at St Andrews, containing a dean, archdeacon, treasurer, and prebendaries. The counties belonging to the archbishopric, south of the Frith of Forth, were superintended by two dignitaries appointed by the archbishop, the one styled the Official of Lothian, and the other the

* During the establishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Scotland there were *twelve* bishoprics, Edinburgh having been erected an episcopal see by Charles I. in 1633, out of the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow.

† Bishop Keith, however, quoting from the chartulary of Glasgow, says, that the suffragans were Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyle.—Catalogue, p. 234. The order in the text was, nevertheless, that which was subsequently followed.

Official of Teviotdale, whose duties were similar to those of archdeacons in England. ABERDEEN, founded at Mortlach, in Banffshire, by Malcolm III. in 1010, and removed to the city of Aberdeen in 1139, contained the greater part of the counties of Banff and Aberdeen; and the bishop took precedence after the two archbishops. BRECHIN, founded by David I. in 1150, contained the greatest part of the county of Forfar, in which the city of Brechin is situated, and part of the adjacent county of Kincardine. CAITHNESS, founded either by Malcolm III. or Malcolm IV., the cathedral of which was at Dornoch, a small borough on the Frith of the same name, comprehended the counties of Caithness and Sutherland. DUNBLANE, founded by David I. in 1142, contained the west and southern districts of Perthshire; and the now decayed city of that name was the bishop's seat. DUNKELD, a venerable and romantic little city in the district of Athole, in Perthshire, founded by the same monarch about the year 1127, comprehended the north part of that extensive county, a small portion of Fife-shire, and some parishes south of the river Forth. MORAY, founded by Malcolm III. in 1057, consisted of the counties of Elgin and Nairn, part of the counties of Banff and Inverness, and some parishes in Aberdeenshire. The original seat of this bishopric was at Spynie, a parish in the county of Moray, stretching along the banks of the Lossie, where was also the episcopal palace, the magnificent ruins of which to this day impress the spectator; but it was removed to the adjacent town of Elgin in 1224, by Alexander II. The founder of the bishopric of ORKNEY is uncertain; it consisted of all the Orkney and Shetland islands, with their singularly diversified clusters

in those remote regions. The cathedral city was Kirk-wall, the capital of the Orkneys; the church of which, dedicated to St Magnus, from its remoteness, and thus being beyond the reach of the reformers, escaped their levelling fury. Ross, founded by David I., comprehended the counties of Ross and Cromarty, and part of Inverness. The cathedral church was at Fortrose, on the Moray Frith, in the parish of Rosemarkie, and county of Ross—a town of considerable antiquity, now almost deserted, and united with the ancient episcopal town, about a mile distant, where the bishops resided, and hence termed the Chanonry of Ross.

In the province of GLASGOW, the suffragans were three, Argyle, Galloway, and The Isles. The archbishopric, the most ancient see in Scotland after St Andrews, was of great extent, and comprehended the counties of Lanark, Dumbarton, Ayr, Renfrew, Dumfries, Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, and part of Berwick and Stirlingshires. ARGYLE, disjoined from the see of Dunkeld during the episcopate of Bishop Scott, towards the end of the twelfth century, contained the county of Argyle, including the mountainous region of Lochaber, and some of the Western Isles. The cathedral of this see was at Lismore, an island of the Hebrides, situated at the mouth of Loch Linnhe. GALLOWAY, traditionally said to have been founded by St Ninian about the end of the fifth century, comprehended the county of Wigton and the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, the cathedral seat of which was at Whithorn, a small town on the bay of Wigton, known as the *Candida Casa* and *Leucopibia* of the ancient geographers. The diocese of THE ISLES comprehended the county of Bute, in the Frith of Clyde, and

most of the western islands in the Scottish archipelago. Thus over these dreary and inhospitable islands the light of Christianity was early diffused. This see contained at one time not only the Ebudæ, or Western Islands of Scotland, but the Isle of Man, which was disjoined by Edward III. of England, during the contest between Bruce and Baliol for the Scottish crown, who made himself master of that island, and it was subsequently annexed to the English crown. The Lords of Man appointed their own bishops, and the Scottish monarchs continued the bishops of The Isles. The cathedral of this see was in the celebrated island of Iona or Icolmkill, to the prelates of which was generally entrusted, in ancient times, the education of the presumptive heirs to the Scottish throne; and which, to quote the fine expression of Johnson, was "once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge, and the blessings of religion."

Such were the ecclesiastical divisions of Scotland for centuries previous to the Reformation, and which at that period seemed to be so potent and secure as to bid defiance to the coming storm. It is a singular feature in the history of the Scottish Catholic hierarchy, and one which has no parallel in that of any other country, that it was completely subverted and overthrown, in the course of a few years, by the same generation, whose transition from the extreme of superstitious veneration to that of bitter and destructive hatred is not the less striking. While in England, for example, the Reformation was sanctioned and promoted by the government, in Scotland it was carried on in open defiance of that

authority; and the distractions which ensued from the contentions of the hostile parties, prompted the zealots of those times to commit excesses of the most lamentable description. The wealth of the church was too powerful a temptation to poor and turbulent barons, whose pride centered in their ancestry, and in the number of vassals whom they maintained. The united income of the two archbishoprics, and of nine of the bishoprics, amounted, in 1561, to upwards of L.13,000 Scots money, which, at the period of the Reformation, was as six to one of money sterling; together with 40 chalders 5 bolls of wheat, 416 chalders 14 bolls of barley, 302 chalders 11 bolls of meal, 137 chalders 5 bolls of oats, 28 chalders 9 bolls of malt, 286 kine and bullocks, 431 sheep, 87 dozen capons, 209½ dozen of poultry, 73 geese, 19 muir-fowl, 17 swine, 453 last one barrel of salmon, and 30,000 scraw, or fish dried without salt. This, as we have subsequently noticed more minutely, was the united income of all the archbishoprics and bishoprics, with the exception of Argyle and The Isles, the revenues of which it is now impossible to ascertain, the Earl of Argyle having seized, at the Reformation, all the records and rentals of these two bishoprics, and either destroyed or concealed the records and chartularies of the religious houses in those districts. The abbey and religious houses possessed revenues of nearly L.42,000, with 268 chalders 14 bolls of meal, 1198 chalders of barley, 1315 chalders 6 bolls of meal, 591 chalders 3 bolls of oats, 30 chalders 1 boll of malt, 65 mairts, 52 mutton, 387 dozen capons, 948 dozen poultry, 239 barrels salmon, 1054 stone of cheese, and 146 stone of butter, exclusive of what was given for masses, indulgences, and other

profitable dues. We shall in the sequel examine minutely the rental of the abbeyes and religious houses, as returned to the Privy Council in 1561, when the hierarchy was overthrown, from which will appear the vast influence which the Romish church must have possessed, and yet its insufficiency to cope with the attacks of its assailants.

In tracing the fall of the Romish hierarchy in Scotland, the demolition of its cathedrals and monasteries, and the scenes of violence which an enraged and excited mob exhibited, we must revert to the preceding century, when the first indications of the Protestant faith made their appearance, and then describe the actual state of the church at the period of its overthrow. The opinions of Wickliffe were introduced into Scotland early in the fifteenth century, and were propagated chiefly by refugee monks. It does not appear, however, that these opinions prevailed to such an extent as to cause any apprehension on the part of the Scottish clergy, although several statutes were enacted against heresy in the reign of James I., and every bishop was directed to make inquisition of all *heretics*, or *Lollards*, as they were termed, within his diocese, and to punish them according to the laws of the church. We find the bishop of Durham, in 1402, transmitting two notifications to the monks of Kelso, by the archdeacon of Northumberland and his officials, requesting them to apprehend three ecclesiastics who were impeached of "unsoundness in the faith," and who, it was supposed, had fled into Scotland. An English monk, named John Resby, was arrested in 1408 by an eminent Scottish doctor of theology named Lawrence of Lindores, superior of the abbey of Lindores in Fife, who acted as

the pope's inquisitor, and who was the only officer of that description at any time employed in Scotland. Of this unfortunate monk we know nothing, except that he was an exile from England, and had distinguished himself by actively propagating the opinions of the English Reformer, and of Huss and Jerome of Prague. He was found guilty, in a council of the Scottish clergy, of maintaining forty heretical opinions, only two of which are traditionally mentioned, namely, denying that the pope was the vicar of Christ, and asserting that if the pope were a man of a wicked life he ought not to be acknowledged as pope. He was burnt at St Andrews, under the primacy of Bishop Henry Wardlaw, who, notwithstanding his munificence and liberality, thus stained his episcopate by sanctioning the first execution for religion in Scotland.

It appears, however, that there were some converts to the opinions of Wickliffe in the country districts, for an enactment was made in the university of St Andrews only six years after its foundation, declaring that no person would be admitted to the degree of master of arts who would not swear to oppose the doctrines of the Lollards. Twenty-five years after the burning of Resby, we find the same Lawrence of Lindores active in the apprehension of a Bohemian physician named Paul Craw, or Crawar, a zealous disciple of Wickliffe and Huss. He had proceeded to Scotland well recommended by some citizens of Prague, who wished to open a correspondence with those in Scotland who held the same opinions; from which it may be inferred that there was a party who retained and cherished the doctrines of the continental reformers, undismayed by the fate of Resby.

By openly preaching, and by embracing with zeal the opportunities which his profession afforded him of inculcating his opinions, he soon brought himself under the notice of the church. That he had made some converts is evident from the admission of Fordun. The heresies which he was accused of propagating were similar to those maintained by Wickliffe, and chiefly related to pilgrimages, purgatory, transubstantiation, and other tenets peculiar to the papal system. He was condemned at St Andrews at the special instance of John Fogo, abbot of Melrose; and, as he refused to renounce his opinions, he was brought to the stake in that city in 1433. It does not appear that either this execution, or that of Resby, excited the slightest notice on the part of the government.

With the exception of the above two cases, no impulse was given to the public mind in Scotland by the English and continental reformers during the whole of the fifteenth century. Towards the end of that century, we find some persons from the district of Kyle in Ayrshire summoned by the archbishop of Glasgow, but the church thought them too insignificant and harmless to subject them to punishment, and they were dismissed with an admonition to renounce their alleged errors. Much has been said and written respecting the ignorance which prevailed in Scotland before the Reformation. That it prevailed to a great extent cannot be doubted; but it must be remembered, that much of what the ancient ecclesiastics are accused rests on the sole testimony of their enemies, who embraced every opportunity of ridiculing and calumniating their fallen adversaries. The covetousness, moreover, of those who ex-

pected to share in the contemplated plunder of the church, induced them to listen willingly to the many false and disgraceful stories propagated concerning them, and which were readily believed in times which did not afford easy opportunities for investigating the truth of the allegations. The impartial inquirer will find that the Scottish hierarchy was at least not more corrupt than the papal system, generally, throughout Europe. To learning, if it deserve the name, the Scottish clergy of that age have some claims; it is among them alone that we find any knowledge of the arts and sciences; for the studies which formed the literature of the times were held to be unworthy of the warlike spirit of the nobility. Before the foundation of the universities, schools were established in the principal towns, under the superintendence of the clergy; and it appears, from the chartularies of the monasteries, that many of them possessed schools in which instruction was communicated by the monks, who also superintended the education, such as it was, of the young nobility. Perth and Stirling possessed schools as early as 1173, and there were similar institutions in Ayr, Berwick, Montrose, and Aberdeen. These facts prove that education was not entirely neglected, and that the ignorance which prevailed only formed part of that system which enslaved Europe, exhibiting the most stupendous fabric of superstition ever witnessed in the world. It was not artifice or design, of which they have been erroneously, and in some instances unjustly, accused, which was the cause of the prevailing ignorance, but it was rather generated by the system itself. In preaching, however, they were completely deficient; and many of their sermons and orations were sufficiently ridiculous.

Preaching, which gave the reformers such an advantage over them, was totally neglected, was performed chiefly by itinerant monks, or those of the Dominican order, hence called *fratres prædicatorum*, or preaching friars, when it suited their inclination or convenience.

But the foundation of the Scottish universities in the fifteenth century, forms an era in the history of the Romish hierarchy in Scotland highly honourable to the prelates under whose auspices the universities were endowed and erected. It cannot be doubted that the founding and endowing of these institutions originated in a desire on the part of the church for the cultivation of learning, and to operate as a check to the spread of those opinions which it designated as heresies. The *University of St Andrews*, the first of these institutions, was founded by Henry Wardlaw, bishop of the see, in 1410—a slender antiquity when contrasted with Oxford or Cambridge, or with some of the continental universities; and in the year 1413, the charter of confirmation was brought from Pope Benedict XIII., the arrival of which was welcomed by the loudest demonstrations of joy from all classes of the inhabitants. The successor of Wardlaw in the Scottish primacy, James Kennedy, nephew of king James I., still farther carried his predecessor's intentions into effect, by founding, in 1455, St Salvador's College in that university, and by liberally endowing it with large sums from his ecclesiastical revenues. *St Leonard's College* was founded by John Hepburn, prior of St Andrews, in 1512, who endowed it with funds from the parish of St Leonards in that city, and from his own private resources. *St Mary's College*, founded by archbishop James Beaton in 1538, was still farther aug-

mented by his nephew and successor, the celebrated cardinal, and by archbishop Hamilton, in 1557. These three colleges constituted the university of St Andrews, founded by the Scottish primates; and, although now in a languishing and almost decayed condition, are illustrious memorials of the munificence of the ancient hierarchy.

The proceedings of the Romish prelates in the central district of Scotland were communicated to other provinces. The great and commercial city of Glasgow was then a small borough town, of limited extent, containing an insignificant population, and entirely depending on its bishop, who was the superior of its regality. Its magnificent cathedral was then, as it still is, its boast and ornament; but the houses of the prebendaries and other dignitaries of the church, with a few straggling streets branching off towards the river Clyde, and one or two monastic establishments of minor importance, were all which then appeared of the now large and prosperous city of St Mungo. William Turnbull, bishop of the see, and archdeacon of St Andrews, founded, in 1450, the university of Glasgow. On the following year the papal bull of Nicholas V. was proclaimed at the market-cross of the city with great solemnity; and that prelate procured another bull from the pope, granting an universal indulgence to all *faithful Christians* who should visit the cathedral church of Glasgow during that year. Its founder, however, did not endow it with any revenues of importance, and its prosperity was retarded by his death, which took place at Rome four years afterwards. King James III. granted it many immunities and privileges; yet its first establishment was

not so auspicious as that of St Andrews, owing to the distractions of the times, and the commotions occasioned by the disputes between the crown and the nobility. In 1452, David Cadzow, canon of Glasgow, the first rector of the university, incorporated more than one hundred members, most of whom appear to have been secular or regular clergy, and are described as "canons, rectors, monks, vicars, and even abbots and priors." But in 1521 this university was attended by a very small number of students, and in 1560 it was almost annihilated by the Reformation, its members being compelled to retire into exile, to avoid the popular fury against the fallen superstition.

The ecclesiastics of the north of Scotland, stimulated by the example of St Andrews and Glasgow, were not behind in this honourable zeal for the cultivation of learning. William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, procured a bull from Pope Alexander VI. in 1494, for the institution of a university in that city, "for theology, canon and civil law, medicine, the liberal arts, and every lawful faculty." This university, at first dedicated to St Mary, but afterwards denominated King's College, in compliment to James IV., was begun in 1506, and consists of the present antique and extensive buildings which comprise the northern seat of learning. The venerable bishop endowed it with ample revenues, and its first principal was the celebrated Hector Boethius, or Boece, who, whatever may be his pretensions to credit as a historian, enjoyed the friendship of Erasmus, and whose learning and abilities had procured for him the professorship of the philosophy in Montaigne College at Paris. Such were the proceedings of the Scottish prelates in the fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries to promote the stability of the church, which one generation was destined to sweep away. It is unnecessary to do more than merely allude to the other institutions of a similar nature in Scotland—Edinburgh, founded by the magistrates of that city in 1581, and the Marischal College of Aberdeen, founded by George Keith, Earl Marischal of Scotland, in 1593. These having been instituted some years after the Reformation, are not connected with the subject we are now discussing.

Thus far had the Romish Church every appearance of stability in Scotland, when the reformation of religion burst forth in Europe, and invaded the rocky shores of the “land of the mountain and the flood.” The church had, apparently at least, checked with success the first indications of the reformed doctrines; and the people seemed too much occupied in domestic strifes and commotions to be greatly agitated by polemical discussions. We are not, however, to view the ecclesiastics of the Scottish hierarchy merely as the founders of cathedrals, colleges, and religious institutions. It cannot be denied that they rendered essential services, by their continued improvement of the kingdom, in agriculture; in the erection of bridges, hospitals for the aged and infirm, many of which still remain; and that they were, in many cases, the promoters of the comforts and luxuries of domestic life. They were the discoverers of that invaluable mineral, *coal*—a constant and never-failing source of internal wealth; they were long the only shipowners of the kingdom; and some of the most useful inventions issued from the monastic cloister. Secure in their hold over their numerous vassals and retainers, the dignitaries of

the Scoto-Catholic hierarchy appear never to have contemplated the possibility of attack. "The Scottish clergy," observes a recent writer on the monastic antiquities of Scotland,* "both secular and regular, with the exception of a few individuals, saw not the necessity of correcting either their personal errors, or those of their system. They appear to have felt little alarm for the safety of their institutions, and probably regarded the call for reformation as a temporary clamour arising from the excitement of passing events; because, though the opinion of its necessity had long been gaining ground, recent events, and the example of other countries, had, indeed, given encouragement to the open and general expression of that opinion. They felt a degree of encouragement also in the support they received from the king (James V.), who, though he is said to have warmly recommended the clergy to amend their lives, yet continued firm in his adherence to the doctrines and institutions of popery, being encouraged thereto by the prelates, among whom, in preference to the nobility, he chose his councillors and chief ministers, on account of their superior learning and ability, and who took prudent care not to offend him by objecting to his cupidity, when he appropriated to himself some of the richest benefices of the church."

Of the exact number of the clergy in Scotland at the time of the Reformation we have no accurate information. One writer states them to have amounted to upwards of eleven hundred:* but if we allow one ecclesiastic to every parish in the kingdom, of which there were then nearly 900, and take into account those of

* Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 242.

various orders who resided in the monasteries, we may fairly state them to have exceeded 2000 in round numbers—a considerable proportion, if we recollect that the whole Scottish population did not then exceed one million. In 1542, there were 200 in the monastery of Melrose; and in other large establishments of a similar description, especially those of St Andrews, Arbroath, Paisley, Dunfermline, and Edinburgh, there would be a considerable number. It is certain, however, that previous to the year 1561, when the Reformation was triumphant, they had materially decreased. Fears for their security would doubtless induce many to relinquish, and deter others from entering, the ecclesiastical profession. In 1559, there were only eight in the splendid monastery of the Greyfriars at Perth, and in Dunfermline the number varied from forty to fifty. In the Cistercian Abbey of Culross, on the north side of the Forth, there were nine monks, who, it appears, had all conformed to the reformed doctrines, but five of them subsequently recanted. In the rental of the Cistercian Abbey of Newbottle, in Mid-Lothian, as rendered in 1561, the sum of £240 per annum, Scots money, is allotted to the “sustentation of six aged, decrepit, and recanted monks.” Five monks were ordered to be provided for in a similar manner, belonging to the Cistercian Abbey of Pluscardine in Moray; and the Augustine Abbey of Scone, near Perth, contained eighteen, besides the prior or superior. A number of the younger clergy embraced the reformed doctrines, but a great many left the kingdom, and found an asylum in the popish countries of the continent, for

* Mr Dalyell, on the authority of a MS. quoted in his “Introductory Remarks to Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century.”

the reformers were as intolerant towards the ancient ecclesiastics as the latter had been when in power and authority. The only instance recorded in Scottish history of an order of monks voluntarily leaving the kingdom is that of the Gilbertines, who retired because the air and the climate did not agree with them. Their revenues were transferred to the abbey of Paisley, founded in 1160 by Walter, great steward of Scotland, for monks of the order of Clugni. Of the nuns it is also equally impossible to get an accurate account. In 1561, there were eighteen in the Cistercian nunnery at Haddington, whose allowance, it is stated in the privy council returns, was four bolls of wheat, three bolls of meal, to each during the year, with eightpence per day for fish and flesh, and £4 per annum for clothes. In the town of North Berwick, in the same county, there was a similar nunnery, which contained eleven devotees, whose annual allowance was £20 to each.

The same obscurity prevails respecting the exact number of monasteries and religious houses in Scotland, many of their records having been destroyed by the mob at the Reformation, and the edifices, in most instances, completely demolished. The account of the religious houses written by Spottiswood of Spottiswood, a lineal descendant of the archbishop, and prefixed to "Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops," although the best, is very defective. There were no popish monastic institutions in Scotland before the twelfth century, during which, by the profuse piety of David I., and those who imitated his example, they sprung up every where, some of them of great magnificence. The prevailing orders in Scotland were—1. The Canons-regular of St Augustine, who had

twenty-seven abbeys, priories, and convents, the most celebrated of which were Scone, near Perth; Inch-Colm in the Frith of Forth; Pittenweem in Fife; Holyroodhouse at Edinburgh; St Mary's Isle in Kirkcudbright; Blantyre, on the banks of the Clyde in Lanarkshire; Cambuskenneth near Stirling; Jedburgh in Teviotdale; and Inchaffray in Strathearn. 2. The Canons of St Anthony, who only had one monastery in Scotland, situated in Leith, the church of which is now the parish church of South Leith. They had a cell on the north side of Arthur's Seat, near Edinburgh, the romantic ruin of which is still an object of interest. 3. The Red Friars, who had thirteen monasteries, the chief of which were in the city of Aberdeen, Dunbar in Haddingtonshire, Scotland-well in Kinrossshire, Peebles in Peebles-shire, Dundee and Brechin in Forfarshire. 4. The Præmonstratenses, or White Friars, who possessed six magnificent monasteries—namely, Souls' Seat (*Sedes Animarum*), Holywood, Tongland, and Whitehorn, in the county of Wigton; Dryburgh Abbey near Melrose; and Fearne in Ross-shire. 5. The Benedictines, or Black Friars, who possessed the noble abbey of Dunfermline, and monasteries in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other towns. 6. The Tyronenses, who possessed six monasteries—Kelso Abbey in Roxburghshire, Kilwinning in Ayrshire, Lesmahago in Lanarkshire, Arbroath or Aberbrothwick in Forfarshire, the priory of Fyvie in Aberdeenshire, and the abbey of Lindores in Fife. 7. The Cluniacenses, from the abbey of Clugni in Burgundy, possessed four institutions—the magnificent abbey of Paisley in Renfrewshire, the priory of Feale in Ayrshire, the abbey of Crossraguel in the same county, and the venerable Icolmkill in the Western

Islands. 8. The Cistercians, an order of the Benedictines, whose monasteries and abbeys amounted to twelve, the most important of which were Melrose in Roxburghshire, Newbottle in Mid-Lothian, Dundrennan in Kirkcudbright, Kinloss in Moray, Cupar-Angus in Forfarshire, Glenluce in Wigton, Culross in Perthshire, Balmerino in Fifeshire, and Sweetheart, or New Abbey, in Dumfries-shire. 9. The monks of Vallis-Caulium, who followed the rules of St Benedict. These monks possessed the noble abbey of Pluscardine in Moray, the priory of Beaulieu in Ross-shire, and of Ardchattan in the county of Argyle. 10. The Carthusians, who had only one establishment in Scotland, the splendid charter-house at Perth, founded by James I., and demolished by the reformers in 1559. 11. The Gilbertines, who also had only one establishment in Scotland, Dalmellington, or Darnullin, in Ayrshire. 12. The Templars, of whom there were two orders in Scotland, the Red Friars, and the Knights of St John of Jerusalem. They had extensive possessions in the counties of Mid-Lothian, Aberdeen, Stirling, Kincardine, Haddington, Renfrew, Linlithgow, Fife, Perth, Dumfries, Lanark, Wigton, and Kirkcudbright. "Amongst us," observes Spottiswood, "there was scarce a parish in which they had not some lands, farms, or houses. In Edinburgh there were a great many buildings belonging to them, as also in Leith." 13. The Dominicans, or Black Friars, who were subdivided into Black Friars, Franciscans or Grey Friars, and Carmelites or White Friars. The members of this order professed to be mendicants; "yet," observes Spottiswood, "when their nests were pulled down, they were found too rich for mendicants." The Black Friars, or preaching

friars, possessed fifteen establishments in Scotland, the chief of which were at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Perth, Elgin, Stirling, Dundee, Glasgow, St Andrews, and Inverness. The Franciscans, or Grey Friars, had eight monasteries, in the towns of Berwick, Roxburgh, Dundee, Dumfries, Haddington, Lanark, Kirkcudbright, and Inverkeithing in Fife. These belonged to that description of the Franciscans called the Conventuals. The Observantines possessed nine monasteries, namely, at Edinburgh, St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Ayr, Perth, Stirling, Elgin, and Jedburgh. The Carmelites, or White Friars, had nine monasteries and religious houses, the principal of which were in Perth, Aberdeen, Linlithgow, St Andrews, and the town of Banff.

The number of the nuns was comparatively small. They appear to have possessed some minor religious establishments throughout the country, but their principal settlements were at Icolmkill, Edinburgh, Lincluden in Dumfries-shire, Coldstream, Haddington, and the nunnery of Coldingham, near St Abb's Head, in Berwickshire, which was reckoned the most ancient in the kingdom.

Besides these institutions, there were thirty-three collegiate churches, or provostries, under the jurisdiction of deans or provosts, and consisting of a number of prebendaries, varying from three to sixteen, and singing boys. Some of these provostries were very rich, having been for the most part founded and endowed by private individuals. There was also a number of hospitals, founded and endowed for the relieving of strangers, and for the maintenance of the aged and infirm. If we add to all these the private chapels and altars in the

cathedrals at which particular masses were said, we can easily conceive how completely the Scottish catholic hierarchy inundated the country by its officials and priesthood. In the cities and large towns, each of the *trades*, or corporations, possessed an altar in the principal churches, and supported a chaplain to officiate. If we take into account the annual value of all these abbeyes and monasteries, in conjunction with the bishoprics, it will appear at once that the Scottish catholic hierarchy was more munificently endowed, considering the extent and resources of the kingdom, than it was in any other country in Europe. Wealth, such as it possessed, was certain to excite the cupidity of those who were now doubting its authority and compassing its subversion: so true it is that sordid motives are ever mixed with the best of purposes, while the unprincipled and avaricious are allured to plunder by the hope of sharing in the general spoil.

Such is an outline of the ecclesiastical state of Scotland at the Reformation—a situation in which it had continued, or to which it had been progressing, for some centuries. The principal religious establishments are only enumerated in the preceding list, but enough has been said to shew how completely the church had monopolized even the soil of the country. The previous ecclesiastical history of Scotland does not come within the sphere of the present work. An “Ecclesiastical History of Scotland,” for there is none in existence worthy of the name or the subject, is yet to be written, and he who engages in it must be possessed of no common share of ardour and perseverance. It is sufficient here to state, that the machinery of the Romish Church in Scotland was

the same as that which existed in the various kingdoms of Europe before the Reformation. There were prelates, abbots, priors, monks, nuns, as in other countries. Nor is it necessary to dwell on the vices and irregularities of the ancient ecclesiastics. The tenets they inculcated, and the system of which they formed a part, were supplanted by a purer creed; but, although we find in the history of the ancient Scottish ecclesiastics men who were licentious, tyrannical, and ambitious, we must admit that others of them acted as true patriots, and were zealous supporters of the honour and independence of their country. The monuments of their munificence, their spirit, and their piety, if we may so express it, still remain; and while we survey these monuments, whether ruined or entire, with veneration, and regret that the services of a pure, enlightened, and devotional religion were unknown within their walls, we may find numerous topics for serious reflection, contrasted with the conduct of the early reformers, who so boldly hazarded their lives in overthrowing a system, which, whatever may be the romantic enthusiasm with which it was invested, had overgrown itself, and become an intolerable grievance to the nation. The mind cannot fail to be affected at the sight of fallen magnificence; and that man is little to be envied who can feel no emotion when he beholds the mouldering ruins of St Andrews, the ivy-clad grandeur of Melrose, or the seclusion and silence of Holyrood. We lament the unhappy ravages of passion, of which these and other piles are now the memorials; but we ought to recollect that no national advantage can be gained in a half civilized age without submitting to corresponding disasters. And, on reviewing the whole, however much

we may be disposed to condemn the conduct of the reformers in exciting the populace to such unwarrantable attacks on property—not to mention the value of those cathedrals and monasteries they so wantonly dilapidated—the religious and political emancipation which they achieved for their posterity from the tyranny of a church as despotic in practice as it was corrupt and debased in doctrine, is more than a sufficient atonement for these excesses, and entitles their memories, with all their imperfections, violence, and misapplied zeal, ever to be held in the most grateful veneration.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST ATTACK ON THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN
SCOTLAND.

THE city of St Andrews, the Canterbury of Scotland, celebrated as the scene of some of the most remarkable events connected with the Scottish reformation, the ancient seat of the Scottish primate, of a university, and of some splendid religious establishments, is situated in the north-east part of the county of Fife, on the bay of the same name, which forms part of the estuary and receives the waters of the river Tay. In modern times, notwithstanding its deserted streets, and its apparently rapid progress to decay, the remains of its former grandeur which it presents, its massive ruins, its antique tenements, and the almost monastic seclusion of its streets, render it the most interesting of the old Scottish cities. The towers and edifices, rising amid the deserted city in every direction, impress the spectator, when viewing them at a distance, with no ordinary sensations, nor are these diminished on more closely approaching this ancient ecclesiastical metropolis of Scotland. "It is easy to see," says Mr Chambers, "that its castle, its cathedral, its numerous colleges, and religious houses, must have conspired to render it, previous to the Reformation, a much more impressive and beautiful town than Edinburgh, and, indeed, to place it near to the rank of

some of the best cathedral towns of England.”* Although at the present time its population has dwindled to about 5000, and its university, now its only entire memorial of former grandeur, is considered the least prosperous in Scotland, yet before the Reformation, when the priory, abbey, and religious houses existed, and the courts of the archbishop were in full operation, it has been calculated that it contained nearly 20,000 inhabitants.†

The foundation of the see of St Andrews is lost in the uncertain antiquity of the seventh and eighth centuries. The *Cathedral Church*, a most magnificent Gothic edifice, was founded by Arnold, bishop of the see, in 1159, and finished by Bishop Lamberton in 1318, having occupied 160 years in its erection. Its length from east to west, as appears from the ruins, was 370 feet within the walls, and 65 feet broad; the transept 170 feet from north to south, at the distance of 230 feet from the western entrance. There is a tradition respecting this cathedral, that collections for the building of it were made throughout Europe, which perhaps accounts for the time which elapsed between its foundation and completion.

The *Priory*, which rivalled the cathedral, both in its

* Picture of Scotland, vol. ii, p. 194.

† Some have stated its population at 30,000, which is certainly extravagant. No town in Scotland contained such a large population for many years after the Reformation. St Andrews, Perth, and Aberdeen, appear to have been the three most populous cities before that event. Edinburgh and Glasgow were then mere borough towns, of exceedingly limited dimensions, both in extent and population; while the towns of Paisley, Greenock, and Dundee, now so flourishing and important, were little better than villages until after the Union in 1707. That event was the means of concentrating the trade of Scotland into particular towns, while it caused the decay of a great many of the provincial boroughs. St Andrews, however, fell with the church, and it is next to impossibility that it will ever recover.

magnificence and its revenues, but of which few traces now remain, was situated near the cathedral. Its canons were of the order of St Augustine, and its prior wore on all public meetings, and on solemn festivals, ornaments similar to the bishop, viz. a mitre, gloves, a ring, cross, crosier, and sandals, and in the Scottish parliament had precedence of all abbots and priors in the kingdom. The priory was of more ancient erection than the cathedral, having been founded in 1120 by Robert, bishop of St Andrews, in the reign of Alexander I.* The convent of the Dominicans, which was situated in the west part of the street called the North-street, and of which a part of the garden wall only remains, was founded by William Wishart, bishop of the see, in 1274. The *Grey Friars*, or *Observantines*, had also a splendid convent in the city, situated in the South Street, begun by Bishop Kennedy, the founder of the university, and finished by his successor Patrick Graham, the first archbishop, in 1479, and dedicated to St Francis; the only remains of which is a beautiful fragment in the Gothic style, with an arched roof, supposed to have been the cross aisle of the chapel. The religious house called the *Provostry of Kirkheugh*, which consisted of a provost and nine prebendaries, and said to have been the most ancient foundation in the city, completed the number of religious establishments.† These, in addition to the three

* All that remains of the immense edifice of the priory of St Andrews are a few vaults, and part of the massive gate way. The site is now occupied by gardens, but the wall which surrounded the domains is almost entire. It has 16 round and square towers, is 22 feet high, extends 370 yards in length, and encloses 18 acres of ground.

† The establishments called *Provostries* being peculiar to Scottish ecclesiastical history, it is necessary to observe, that in Scotland before the Reformation there were many collegiate churches of secular priests,

colleges in the university already alluded to, gave to this ancient city, at the time of the Reformation, when they were all entire, and in prosperity and grandeur, a magnificence and importance which the mind can easily conceive from a contemplation of their ruins and departed glory.

The *Castle of St Andrews*, which was the archiepiscopal palace, in which King James III. was born, and Cardinal Beaton murdered, was founded about the year 1200 by Roger, bishop of the see, and son of Robert third earl of Leicester after the Conquest. It was a pile of buildings of immense magnitude and strength, being situated on a lofty rock immediately beside the cathedral, overhanging the bay, the billows of which have made fearful encroachments on its ruins. Little of the ancient erection now exists, it having been almost totally demolished by an act of council in 1547. The bishops of St Andrews, in their writs, style this once strong and magnificent building *nostrum palatium*. The part of it now seen was built by archbishop Hamilton, the successor of the Cardinal in the see, whose death was equally tragical, the last archbishop of the Roman hierarchy in Scotland.

Such was the archiepiscopal city of St Andrews before the Reformation, its towers and spires serving as landmarks to the mariners in the German Ocean, and denoting the wealth and magnificence of the ecclesiastics and the citizens. In addition to these edifices were the and he who presided over these canons or prebendaries was styled provost. Two of the most celebrated of these were Edinburgh and Roslin, the latter still famous for its chapel of exquisite architecture. There were many others of great importance, such as Corstorphine in Edinburghshire, Bothwell in Lanarkshire, Crail in Fifeshire, Dundee in Forfarshire, &c.

parish churches of the city and of St Leonard's, and the chapel of St Salvador's in the college of that name, belonging to the university; as also the venerable tower of St Regulus or St Rule, the traditionary founder of the city, which still exists, a massive and lofty square building of great height, supposed to be the most ancient ecclesiastical ruin in Britain, and certainly the most ancient in Scotland.

At the conclusion of the reign of James IV., which was distinguished by the melancholy defeat at Flodden, and caused a dismay and consternation unparalleled in Scotland, and not obliterated for many years, Andrew Forman succeeded to the see of St Andrews, after much unprofitable partizanship on the part of the clergy, there being two or three candidates for the vacant primacy.* Archbishop Forman died in 1522, and was succeeded by James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, descended from the ancient family of the Beaton or Bethunes of Balfour in Fifeshire, of which several branches exist in that county to this day. Of the birth or education of this prelate we have no certain information. His first preferment was the provosty of Bothwell, in Lanarkshire, seven miles from Glasgow, which he received from the Earl of Angus, head of the powerful house of Douglas, who had exchanged the lands of Liddesdale, the original patrimony of the family of Douglas, for those of Bothwell, with Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, and ancestor of the celebrated Earl of Bothwell who was married to Queen Mary after the murder of Darnley. Archbishop Beaton was appointed to this benefice in 1503, and in

* It had become vacant by the death of Alexander Stewart, an illegitimate son of James IV., who fell with his illustrious father at Flodden.

1504 he was advanced to the splended, rich, and profitable abbey of Dunfermline, which had become vacant by the death of prince James Stuart, brother of King James IV., archbishop of St Andrews, duke of Ross, and high chancellor of Scotland.* In 1505, on the death of his brother, Sir David Beaton, the abbot of Dunfermline was nominated high treasurer of Scotland and minister of state. In 1508, he was consecrated bishop of Galloway, but before he had been a full year in possession of the see, he was translated to the archbishopric of Glasgow, vacant by the death of Blackadder, the first archbishop of that see, after its erection as such in 1491. During the time he sat in the see of Glasgow, which was thirteen years, the archbishop attended most diligently to the affairs of the diocese, and many of his public works still remain as memorials of his munificence. The archiepiscopal palace of the prelates of Glasgow, which he greatly adorned and enlarged, has been removed, and is supplanted by a building of a nobler nature on the site of the ancient episcopal hospitality, the Royal Infirmary: he bestowed large sums of money on the cathedral, and built and repaired several bridges within his regality, and in the neighbourhood of the city. In the year 1515, we find him consecrating Gavin Douglas to the see of Dunkeld, the brother of his first patron, the Earl of Angus—a prelate well known and justly celebrated in the literature of Scotland—as illustrious by his genius as by birth and family connections.

During the regency of the Duke of Albany, in the

* This prince appears to have held a complete monopoly of church preferment. In addition to the archbishopric, and the abbey of Dunfermline, he was likewise abbot of Arbroath

minority of James V., we find archbishop Beaton installed as lord high chancellor of the kingdom. At this period, during the temporary absence of Albany in France, the feuds between the Scottish nobility were at the greatest height, and the Earls of Angus and Arran, the latter nearly related to the king, were selected as the leaders of the respective parties. Archbishop Beaton united himself with Arran's party, which so exasperated the Douglasses, that on the occasion of a conflict which took place in the High-street of Edinburgh, in 1520, between the adherents of the two rival leaders, and well known in Scottish history by the soubriquet of *Cleanse the Causeway*, he would have been slain in the sanctuary of the Blackfriars' church, at Edinburgh, whither he had fled for refuge, had it not been for the intercession of the bishop of Dunkeld. After a variety of incidents, which are chiefly interesting as denoting the turbulence of the times, and the wretched government of the country, he was translated, after a keen competition on the part of various prelates, among whom was Gavin Douglas, whom he is accused of treating ungratefully, to the archbishopric of St Andrews, in 1522; and he was succeeded in the see of Glasgow by Gavin Dunbar, prior of Whithorn in Galloway, and preceptor to the king. In this exalted situation, however, he was not without his disquietudes: the Douglas party was so inveterate against him, that he was deprived of all his offices in the government, and compelled to conceal himself among his friends for safety, for a time, it is said, wandering among the hills of Fife in the disguise of a shepherd. At length he effected a reconciliation with his powerful enemies; but as he was

not reinstated in his former office of chancellor of the kingdom, which had been bestowed on the archbishop of Glasgow, he retired to the castle of St Andrews, where he afterwards chiefly resided, and entrusted the management of his diocese and his other affairs to his nephew and successor, the celebrated cardinal David Beaton, who, returning from France in 1525, soon became distinguished in public life.

While these political contentions were raging between two rival factions, which were protracted during the minority of James V., the doctrines of the Reformation had indeed made some progress, but not to such an extent as to excite any particular notice from the rulers of the church. In the diocese of Glasgow some individuals had been cited before archbishop Blackadder, the immediate predecessor of Beaton, among whom were two gentlemen of influence and rank, named Reid and Campbell, the one proprietor of the estate of Barskimming, and the other of Cessnock, in the county of Ayr; and being disposed to maintain their opinions with boldness, they were severely reprimanded. That prelate, finding the heresy a difficult matter to oppose, appears to have taken no farther notice of the parties; and soon after the examination of Campbell and Reid, he undertook a journey to the Holy Land, and died on his way thither. After the elevation of Beaton to the primacy, however, and of Dunbar to the see of Glasgow, the latent seeds of the protestant doctrines began to appear in various quarters, and the *new opinions*, as they were termed, attracted the notice of the church. The most active ecclesiastic at this period in Scotland, and certainly the most zealous for the popish doctrines, was David Beaton,

the archbishop's nephew, abbot of Arbroath in Forfarshire, a rich and magnificent abbey, then in its greatest splendour, founded by William the Lion in honour of the celebrated English archbishop, Thomas-à-Becket. To him had his uncle, as has been previously noticed, consigned the government of the diocese of St Andrews; so that David Beaton may be said to have exercised at this period supreme ecclesiastical controul in Scotland. This able and intrepid ecclesiastic soon perceived the rapid spread of the protestant doctrines among the people, and adopted the resolution to stop their progress by a rigorous persecution. The conduct of Henry VIII. of England, in throwing off his allegiance to the pontiff, had made the clergy of Scotland his bitter enemies, and induced them to ally themselves closely to the French interest. The abbot of Arbroath was well aware of the reluctance of the king and the archbishop to adopt the violent measures which he recommended, but his ascendancy over both was by this time so considerable, that, aided by some of the prelates, who began to fear the stability of the church, he at length persuaded them to agree to his views, and oppose the alarming encroachments of heresy. It is to the counsels of the abbot of Arbroath, therefore, and not to the inclinations of the king, or the wish of the archbishop, who is admitted even by his enemies to have disliked those proceedings,* that we are to ascribe those persecutions, alike cruel and heartless, the repetitions of which at length annihilated the Romish hierarchy in Scotland.

The abbot of Arbroath, who had persuaded his uncle

* Spottiswood, p. 62.; Buchannan, lib. xiv.; Knox, p. 4; Bishop Lesly, De Rebus, &c. lib. ix. p. 450.

the archbishop to give him a commission for the citation of all persons suspected of heresy, resolved in good earnest to signalize himself in the cause of the hierarchy. He does not seem to have at all imagined that the church was in actual danger, or that even its establishment was tottering; and, indeed, as the complaints and investigations were chiefly on doctrinal points of religious controversy, there was apparently no great cause for alarm. All that was demanded was the reformation of some particular points of faith and practice, which the initiatory reformers evidently imagined could be accomplished without the overthrow of the hierarchy, or even renouncing the papal authority—an authority which had seldom been tyrannically executed in the kingdom. Nor was the abbot long in finding employment in the vocation on which he had entered. It happened that at this period (1527), a young ecclesiastic, or rather a titular ecclesiastic, for he does not appear to have been in holy orders, arrived in Scotland from the continent, named Patrick Hamilton, of a distinguished and noble family, and not very distantly related to the king himself. He was the younger son of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, in the county of Linlithgow, who was also sheriff of that county, and Catharine Stewart, an illegitimate daughter of the Duke of Albany,* brother of King James III., and conspicuous for his turbulence during

* This lady must have been an illegitimate daughter of the Duke of Albany, for she is not mentioned in the act of parliament of 1516, which refers to the issue of that prince by Lady Catharine Sinclair, eldest daughter of the Earl of Orkney and Caithness, from whom he was divorced, in 1477–8, by sentence pronounced by the Official of Lothian, in the archbishopric of St Andrews, on account of propinquity of blood.—*Keith's History*, p. 7; *Douglas' Peerage*, vol. i. p. 59.

that reign. Sir Patrick Hamilton was an illegitimate brother of the Earl of Arran, head of the house of Hamilton, and son of James second Lord Hamilton, legitimized by charter passed under the great seal of Scotland in 1512. It is worthy of remark, that Sir Patrick Hamilton was killed in the encounter between the factions of the Earls of Arran and Douglas, on the High-street of Edinburgh, known by the appellation of *Cleanse the Causeway*, in 1520, the very affray in which archbishop Beaton, who was on the side of the Hamiltons, was nearly slain, and from which he was saved solely by the intercession of Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld.

Young Hamilton, who, it is said by a writer, deserves the "eternal honour of being the proto-martyr for the freedom of the human mind in Scotland,"* but which honour belongs rather to John Resby, the English refugee priest, was born in the year 1515, and early destined for the church. By the influence of his relatives he had been appointed to the abbey of Fearn in Ross-shire, in the parish of that name, which was founded by Ferigard, the first Earl of Ross, in the reign of Alexander II., and which was a preferment of considerable wealth.† He had been educated at the university of St Andrews under John Mair, or Major, a distinguished teacher in that age, who was also the preceptor of John Knox and George Buchanan, and whose philosophical opinions and discussions were remarkably

* Douglas' Peerage, vol. i, p. 59, note, quoted from Pinkerton.

† The revenue of this old abbey, which is a venerable ruin, fast mouldering to decay, amounted, in 1561, to L.165, 7s. 1½d. Scots, in money; 30 chalders 2 bolls 2 pecks bear or barley; and 1 chalder 6 pecks of oats, besides other minor resources of income.

enlightened, considering the place in which he taught, and the situation which he filled. Some of Luther's treatises had by this time found their way into Scotland, and having fallen into the hands of Hamilton, he acquired from the perusal of them an inclination for the protestant doctrines.* With all the zeal and enthusiasm of an ardent and youthful mind, he made no secret of his opinions in St Andrews, such as they then were, and openly avowed his distrust and disbelief of several of the tenets of the Romish church. These opinions, advanced in the very stronghold of the church, could not be concealed, and he was reported to Alexander Campbell, prior of the Dominicans, or Black Friars, in that city. He was cited to appear before the authorities of the university, but he chose rather to adopt the friendly advice which was privately given him, while his religious opinions were unsettled, to effect his escape. He fled to the continent, and proceeding at once to Germany, sought and obtained the friendship of Luther and Melancthon at Wittenberg. Those two apostles of the Reformation joyfully received the young Scottish disciple, and after retaining him for a short time with them they recommended him to Francis Lambert of Avignon, rector of the university of Marburg, which had been recently founded by the Landgrave of Hesse. Here he remained for about two years, devoting himself to the study of the scriptures, and the writings of the German reformers, when he became particularly anxious to return to Scotland, and propagate

* The Parliament of Scotland passed an act in 1525, prohibiting ships from bringing any books of Luther's or his adherents into this country, which, it said, had always previously "bene clene of all sic filth."—*Robertson's Records of Scotland*, p. 552.

those doctrines, of the truth of which he was now thoroughly convinced. Lambert strongly advised him to the contrary, pointing out to him the certain danger to which he would be exposed, and the fate he would likely suffer; arguing that the time was not come for such bold proceedings, and that, standing alone, his escape from the ecclesiastical powers, notwithstanding his high connections, would be impossible. But Hamilton would listen to no remonstrance. In the ardour of his feelings he was resolved to combat every obstacle; and taking an affectionate leave of his kind preceptor Lambert, and his illustrious friends Luther and Melancthon, he left Germany, and embarked in Holland for Scotland.

Hamilton arrived in Scotland in 1527, and proceeded directly to his brother's house, in the county of Linlithgow, of which county his brother had succeeded his father as sheriff. His first successful exploit was gaining his brother and his sister, Catharine Hamilton, over to his opinions, and a few of their retainers and domestics. Although not in holy orders, he began to preach in public, and in various districts, especially in the western counties of Scotland, where the influence of the Hamiltons was great, and could afford him protection.* His addresses produced a powerful impression on his hearers, who listened with astonishment to the bold and startling truths of the undaunted preacher. His youth,

* It does not appear whether or not Hamilton ever enjoyed the revenues of the abbey of Fearn. It is most likely that they were confiscated by James Hay, bishop of Ross, and abbot of Dundrennan, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Hamilton is called *abbot or pensionary of Fearn*, in the warrant for his execution signed by archbishop Beaton and the other prelates.

his high connections, his superior genius and learning, admitted by all writers, which had become refined by the literature and philosophy of the continent, and his interesting and elegant appearance, for it is said his external accomplishments were of no ordinary description, produced an impression as favourable for the dissemination of the truth, as it was calculated to alarm the authorities of the church.*

The tidings of Hamilton's return, and his subsequent proceedings, soon became known throughout the country, and caused sufficient alarm to the clergy. The abbot of Arbroath perceived at once the necessity of checking this new opponent, and, if possible, of silencing him, and alarming others by a striking example. He accordingly took such measures, with the sanction of his uncle, archbishop Beaton, whom he reluctantly persuaded on this occasion, as might enable him to apprehend the young preacher. Hitherto Hamilton, notwithstanding his zeal, had expressed himself with considerable caution in his public addresses. He had not attacked the hierarchy as an establishment, nor even its claims to infallibility, but had contented himself with enforcing the leading and most prominent doctrines of the Reformation respecting the reading of the scriptures, good works, faith, and similar opinions. His family, besides, were extremely powerful; and as the leaders of the Douglas faction were at this time the masters of the court, the King being literally the ward or prisoner of the Earl of

* Mr Dalzell, in his "Cursory Remarks prefixed to Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century," asserts that the Scottish Reformers were men of inferior rank, and exceedingly illiterate. Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart are at least exceptions to both of these assertions, as were also some others afterwards noticed.

Angus, it was not thought expedient to take violent measures for the apprehension of one whose friends were strong enough to resent it, and who might urge it as a sufficient excuse for exciting a serious intestine feud. Dissimulation was therefore resorted to instead of violence. Hamilton was invited to St Andrews by a special messenger from the archbishop himself, under the pretence that the primate wished personally to converse with him on religious subjects, the abbot of Arbroath not appearing to interest himself in the matter; and solemn promises of safety, and of lenity, if found in error, were held out to him to induce him to risk himself within the city.

Deceived by the terms of the invitation, Hamilton accepted it without hesitation, and proceeded to St Andrews, then the capital, as it is quaintly observed by an author, "of the kingdom of darkness in Scotland." On his arrival in St Andrews, the archbishop, who had now obtained possession of his victim, received him with a show of ostentatious kindness. Carefully avoiding religious topics, he assigned to him a lodging in the city, and for some days treated him with attention. Meanwhile, his former accuser, Campbell, the Dominican friar, a man of considerable talents, and completely devoted to his order, was instructed to insinuate himself into his confidence, and to ascertain what were his real sentiments. The friar in the most insidious manner day after day conversed with Hamilton, and seemed to admit not only the positions he advanced, but also the strong necessity which existed for a reformation. Hamilton, thus thrown off his guard, and imagining that he might effect the Dominican's conversion, made no secret of his

opinions, but disclosed them with a fervency which sufficiently implied his deep conviction of their truth. Whatever may have been the friar's convictions, they were overcome either by zeal for his order, or for applause from his ecclesiastical superiors. He accused the young reformer to the archbishop as a heretic and enemy of the church; and Hamilton, without any suspicion of danger, was apprehended during the night, while in bed, and conveyed to the prison of the castle.

A trial was ordered, and, to give it greater effect, an ecclesiastical convention was summoned, consisting of the leading dignitaries of the church, to sit in deliberation. This trial took place on the 28th day of February, 1527-8, in the cathedral, at which the archbishop presided in person, assisted by the archbishop of Glasgow, who had been induced greatly against his inclination to take part in the trial, the bishops of Dunkeld,* Dunblane, and Brechin, the priors of St Andrews and Pittenweem, the abbots of Arbroath, Dunfermline, Cambuskenneth, and Lindores, the dean and sub-dean of Glasgow, the professors and masters of the university, and others of the inferior clergy. It is painful to find among this list the names of men who otherwise deserved well of their country, and were liberal and humane, such as the archbishop of Glasgow, and Milne, abbot of Cambuskenneth, the first President of the Court of Session; and it is equally painful to find that the abbot of Arbroath had influence to persuade so many ecclesiastics to sanction a

* This bishop of Dunkeld was not Gavin Douglas, the illustrious translator of the *Æneid*, that prelate having died at London in 1522, but George Crichton, who succeeded him at the see. He was the prelate who admitted that he had never read the scriptures, except those parts of them contained in the Romish Missal.

deed of atrocity as unprincipled as it was barbarous and vindictive.

During the brief interval which elapsed between Hamilton's apprehension and trial, several attempts were made to induce him to retract his opinions, or at least to refrain from disturbing the tranquillity of the church by teaching them to others, but he alike resisted threatnings and promises; and a priest named Alexander Aless, who had paid some attention to the Lutheran controversy, and who undertook to reclaim him, became himself a convert to the protestant doctrines.* On the day of the trial, being led into the cathedral, before the archbishop and the other dignitaries, Campbell, the treacherous Dominican, appeared as prosecutor; and the manner in which the trial was conducted, as related by Lindsay of Pitscottie, although it is not given in the most felicitous manner, is extremely interesting. The tenets which he was accused of maintaining were reduced to thirteen; the substance of which was—"1. That the corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism. 2. That no man by the power of his free will can do any good. 3. That no man is without sin as long as he liveth. 4. That every true Christian may know himself to be in a state of grace. 5. That a man is not justified by works, but by faith only. 6. That good works make not a good

* Aless was himself afterwards thrown into prison for having delivered a Latin oration before an ecclesiastical synod, which brought him under suspicion of heresy. After enduring a year's captivity in the castle of St Andrews, he contrived to escape in a vessel which lay off the coast of Fife, and retreated to Germany. In 1535, he went to England from Germany, with a recommendation from Melancthon to Archbishop Cranmer, and was noticed by Henry VIII. He afterwards became professor of divinity at Leipsic, where it is supposed he died. He never returned to his native country.

man, but that a good man doeth goods works, and that an ill man doeth ill works, yet the same works truly repented of make not an ill man. 7. That faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all. 8. That God is the cause of sin in this sense, that he withdraweth his grace from man; and, grace withdrawn, he cannot but sin. 9. That it is a devilish doctrine to teach that by any actual penance remission of sin is purchased. 10. That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation. 11. That there is no purgatory. 12. That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion. 13. That the Pope is antichrist, and that every priest hath as much power as the Pope."*

The concocter of the above charges against Hamilton is not mentioned, but it is more than probable that they were so arranged by his judges, for they appear in the same order in the sentence signed by the archbishop. Some of them are unintelligible, quaint, and doubtful as to their orthodoxy, but the great and essential truths of religion are thoroughly recognised, and evince that Hamilton's mind was far in advance of his years. It being demanded of him what he thought of these articles, he replied, that in his judgment the first seven were undoubtedly true, but that he thought the others disputable, and at least he would not condemn

* Appendix to Book I. of Keith's History, No. 2.—Spottiswood, ii. p. 63.—Knox, Historie, p. 5. The leading opinions of Hamilton were, however, explained by himself in a small Latin treatise, which one of his friends transmitted to Fox, and is translated by him, and inserted in his Book of Martyrs. Although it is quaint and obscure in many passages, it nevertheless exhibits a fair exposition of the protestant doctrines, and a beautiful commentary on the Christian graces.

them until more conclusive arguments were offered against them than had yet been produced. These propositions having been delivered to the rector of the university, that dignitary, with twelve other theological doctors, pronounced them to be heretical, and returned them so signed to the judges. As a specimen of the mode in which the subsequent part of the trial was conducted, the narrative given by Lindsay of Pitscottie is worthy of notice. The conversation was carried on between Hamilton and the Dominican friar Campbell, the prosecutor, and there are allusions in it which evidently refer to their private intercourse before the apprehension of the former.

Campbell.—"Thou sayest it is lawful to all men to read the word of God, and especially the New Testament?"

Hamilton.—"I know not if I said so; but it is reasonable and lawful to all men to read the word of God that they may understand the same; and especially the last will and testament of Jesus Christ, whereby they may acknowledge their own vices, and may repent of the same; and may amend their lives by faith and repentance, and come to the mercy of God by Christ Jesus."

Campbell.—"Now, I see, thou heretic, that thou affirmest the words of thy accusation."

Hamilton.—"I affirm nothing but what I have spoken in the presence of this auditory."

Campbell.—"Now, further thou sayest, it is not lawful to worship images?"

Hamilton.—"I say not further; but that which God spake to Moses in the 20th chapter of Exodus, in the second commandment, Thou shalt not make any graven image; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship

them. And also David, in the Psalms, curseth them that are the makers of images, and the upsetters, maintainers, and worshippers of the same.

Campbell.—"Knowest thou not that images are the books of the laity and the common people, to remind them of the holy saints that wrought for their salvation?

Hamilton.—"Brother, it ought to be the preaching of the true word of God that should put the people in remembrance of the word of Christ, and their salvation.

Campbell.—"Thou sayest it is but lost labour for men to pray to or call upon saints that wrought for their salvation, and, in particular, to the blessed Virgin Mary, the apostles John, James, Peter, or Paul, as mediators to God for us?

Hamilton.—"I say, with St Paul, there is no mediator between God and man but Christ Jesus his Son, and whosoever they are who call or pray to any saint departed spoil Jesus Christ of his office.

Campbell.—"Thou sayest our labours are in vain for those that are departed, when any masses for their souls, psalms, and dirges, are said for the relaxation of the souls that are departed, who are continued in the pains of purgatory?

Hamilton.—"Brother, I never read in the scriptures of God of such a place as purgatory, nor yet do I believe that there is any thing that can purge the souls of men but the blood of Jesus Christ, which ransom consisteth in no earthly thing, neither in masses for souls, nor dirges, nor in gold nor silver, but in repentance of sins, and faith in the blood of Jesus Christ.

Campbell.—(Turning to the archbishop) "My Lord, you hear that he denies the institutions of holy church,

and the authority of our holy father the Pope; I need not accuse him any farther."*

This dialogue finished the investigation; and having refused to recant, although a solemn promise was given to him that his life would be spared, Hamilton was immediately condemned, and delivered over "to the civil power, to be burned, as an example to other heretics." In order that no interposition should be made in his favour, the king had been previously induced to undertake a pilgrimage to a shrine of great reputation in the North Highlands; and that the sentence might have greater effect, it was subscribed by the two archbishops, three bishops, six abbots and priors, and several doctors of the university. It is even said that they caused several young men of rank, then studying at the university, to affix their names to the document. The youthful victim of superstition and cruelty was then led out of the cathedral; and on the afternoon of the same day he was brought to the stake, before the gate of St Salvador's College in the North-street of the city, where a scaffold, and all the horrible apparatus of death, had been already prepared. An immense concourse of people assembled to witness this barbarous and novel transaction of men professing to be teachers of a religion of mercy. The youthful soldier of the Reformation displayed all his wonted intrepidity on the awful occasion. On the scaffold he turned affectionately to a domestic who had long attended him, and divesting himself of his gown, his coat, and his cap, presented them to him, telling him that he had no other goods but these to bestow, and the example of his death. "What I am about to suffer," said he,

* Lindsay of Pitcottie's History, p. 206-8.

“my dear friend, appears fearful and bitter to the flesh; but remember it is the entrance to eternal life, which none shall possess who deny their Lord.” Then addressing those who still entreated him to recant and save his life, who were truly grieved at his hapless fate, and who in their hearts loudly denounced the authority by which it was perpetrated, he said, “As to my confession, I will not alter it for the fear of the fire; for my confession, like my belief, is in Jesus Christ; therefore, I will not deny it, and I will rather consent that my body burn in this fire for the faith of Christ. But as to the sentence and judgment pronounced against me this day by the bishops and doctors, I here, in the presence of you all, appeal against the same to the mercy of God.” And turning to Campbell, who persisted in attending him, and whom he had mildly entreated to retire, and not embitter his last moments by his deceitful presence, or aggravate a fate of which he had been the instrument and the cause, he in a more earnest and solemn tone reproached him for his perfidy, and summoned him to answer for the “wrongous accusation which he had made against him, contrary to his conscience,” before the tribunal of God.* But a most revolting scene was to conclude this cruel and affecting tragedy. When the

* Lindsay of Pitscottie notices a superstitious rumour which prevailed, that Hamilton cited Campbell to answer before God for his conduct within forty days after the execution. From the circumstance of the Dominican having actually died in a state of insanity within a year after Hamilton's murder, it was generally believed, and especially by the common people, for more than a century afterwards, that the young martyr had actually predicted the death of his treacherous adviser. It is unnecessary to state this was a mere invention, which subsequent facts certainly corroborated, but which had no connection with the earnest appeal made by Hamilton in proof of his innocence to the perfidious Dominican.

fire was kindled, after being tied to the stake, either from negligence or carelessness, or from the freshness of the combustibles, the unfortunate victim was only partially scorched, and his executioners were obliged to send for gunpowder, to the archbishop's castle, a considerable distance from St Salvador's gate in the North-street. While remaining in this state, Hamilton was frequently heard uttering fervent prayers for strength and consolation from heaven. At length the gunpowder was procured, and, raising his eyes towards heaven, he exclaimed, "How long, O God, shall darkness cover this kingdom? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?" And he died, breathing the language of the first martyr for the truth of Christianity, faintly uttering, as his last words, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."*

This cruel transaction made a deep impression, as soon

* A plan had been devised for the rescue of Hamilton by a gentleman named Andrew Duncan of Airdrie, about seven miles from St Andrews, but which was detected. Bishop Keith (*History*, p. 8) quotes Drummond of Hawthornden for asserting that this execution was caused by private revenge against the Earl of Arran. For this, however, there is not the slightest evidence. It is clear that it was intended to strike terror into the minds of the people; and it was more than probable, so hastily was it done, that some days elapsed before Arran knew any thing of it; in fact, he had no time to interfere if he had been inclined, for the execution took place immediately after the sentence, and he was then very probably at his own castle, nearly 80 miles from St Andrews. The history of the meditated rescue is curious, and is not much known in Scotland.—John Andrew Duncan, the laird or proprietor of the estate of Airdrie, had been intimate with Hamilton, whom he had first met at St Andrews, and afterwards in Stirlingshire, where his father had also a small estate, and was himself so far suspected of heresy as to have been reported to the primate. When Hamilton was apprehended, "the laird of Airdrie, who was aware what would be his fate, mounted about a score of his best tenants and servants, intending them to have entered St Andrews by night, whether to attempt the rescue of his friend, and to carry him off to some place of greater safety, which is most probable, and what he afterwards avowed, or to protect his own

as it was known throughout the country, among men of all ranks and opinions. The youth, intelligence, and resignation of the sufferer, excited an unusual sympathy, and a corresponding odium towards his judges, and did more to injure the church, and to promote the advancement of the new doctrines, than those concerned in it could possibly contemplate.

The miserable fate of the perfidious Dominican made also a considerable impression upon the excited feelings of the people. While the messengers were bringing the powder from the castle, a bystander* brought a quantity of straw, and cast it among the combustibles, to kindle the fire. It blazed accordingly, but the wind blew the smoke in the direction in which Campbell was standing, and almost suffocated him. He fell near the pile, and part of his cowl was scorched by the blaze. This, with the solemn appeal of Hamilton still sounding in his ears, the awful scene he was witnessing, and the consciousness of the treachery of which he had been guilty, so affected him, that his reason became impaired. He left St Andrews, and after enduring nearly a year of remorse,

person from seizure, in the execution of some other project, of which various inconsistent reports and conjectures were raised for many years afterwards, it is impossible to ascertain. His secret intention, however, or at least his preparation for some act of violence, was betrayed, for his small party were surrounded and himself apprehended, before he reached the town, by a large troop of horsemen, commanded by Patrick Duncanson, a gentleman of Forfarshire, who had married his sister. An order for his apprehension, signed by the archbishop of St Andrews, was produced, and his immediate flight into England peremptorily urged by his captor, who engaged to assist him in effecting it, but upon a hard condition—an entire surrender of his lands to his sister's children. To this surrender Duncan was forced to submit. —*Kippis' edit. of Biog. Britt.* vol. v. p. 493.

* Lindsay of Pitscottie tells us that this individual was a baker, named Myrtoun.

he retired to Glasgow, and died there in a state of insanity.*

The assembled prelates and dignitaries after this transaction, "the flames of which," observes Pinkerton, "were in the course of one generation to enlighten all Scotland, and to consume, with avenging fury, the catholic superstition, the papal power, and even the prelacy itself,"† departed to their several residences, some of them, we are told, with minds ill at ease, and with forebodings which any contemplative mind might have anticipated. It is remarkable, however, that the family of Hamilton, although powerful and influential, never called in question the proceedings of the church in this tragedy.‡ Even the archbishop of Glasgow, in whose diocese their adherents and retainers were most numerous, escaped opposition on the part of the Earl of Arran; and the political transactions of the times, which were daily gaining importance in proportion to the power acquired by the successful leaders, absorbed all other considerations of a personal nature. John Knox was one of the spectators of this execution, although the fact is not explicitly stated in his acknowledged works, he being then a student at the university of St Andrews. Knox entered the university about the year 1524, and was incorporated master of arts shortly after the date of Hamilton's murder, with whom he was well acquainted. In all respects Hamilton was the mildest and the most devoted, as he was the most highly descended, of those

* Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 209.

† Pinkerton's History, vol. ii. p. 289.

‡ It is a curious coincidence, that the last popish archbishop of St Andrews was a near relative of Patrick Hamilton.

who suffered for religion in Scotland during the last days of the Romish hierarchy. While the others have been generally either too obscure, or too much connected with political events, to have their characters fairly represented, that of Hamilton is without a single stain or reproach. His offering seems to have been pure and spontaneous to the cause of truth. When Luther heard of his fate, that bold reformer burst into tears; and Melancthon also wept over one whose mildness, gentleness, and inquiring mind, had interested their attention during his short residence at Wittemberg.

CHAPTER III.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CHURCH AGAINST ITS ASSAILANTS.

THE fate of Hamilton was attended with the results which might have been expected. Many who had never thought of his opinions before, or had heard of them with listlessness and indifference, impelled by curiosity and by sympathy, now inquired into the cause of the condemnation of Hamilton, and the nature of those doctrines for maintaining which he was brought to the stake. The church felt it necessary to seize every opportunity for traducing its enemies, but the cause of this calumny on their part was too evident to gain any credit. The consequence was that many new actors appeared on the scene; and archbishop Beaton, or rather his nephew and adviser, the abbot of Arbroath, had now every prospect of being sufficiently employed in repressing the spread of the protestant faith.

The greatest sensation, however, was produced in the place where the tragedy had been witnessed. St Andrews became an altered city. From being the very centre and stronghold of the Romish superstition, it became suddenly the nursery of the protestant doctrines. The students in the university began to speculate on points of belief, and on the general lives of the clergy; while many of the ecclesiastics in the city and neighbourhood could scarcely conceal their dissatisfaction and

disgust. Alexander Seton, of the Dominican order in the city, and the king's confessor, had been appointed to preach in the cathedral during the season of Lent which immediately succeeded the execution of Hamilton. While discharging this duty, he casually introduced into his discourses sundry arguments which astonished and alarmed his auditors; and instead of dwelling exclusively on the doctrines of purgatory and penance, the necessity of confession and pilgrimages, which generally were the topics the Romish clergy discussed during Lent, he insisted on points of a different description, namely, that the law of God was the sole rule of righteousness, and that pardon could only be obtained by sincere repentance and by absolute dependence on the merits of Christ. Opinions such as these, advanced by an individual of the character and experience of Seton, immediately after the death of Hamilton, soon brought him under the notice of his superiors. Having occasion at the time to go to Dundee, which is about thirteen miles from St Andrews, on the north side of the Tay, advantage was taken of his temporary absence by one of his order to oppose and condemn his opinions. Knowing what had taken place, when he returned he embraced the first opportunity of more clearly defining his views and principles, and he added to this definition or explanation the description of what a bishop ought to be in his temper and character as contained in the New Testament. For this he was summoned before the archbishop, who having questioned him about the truth of the rumour which had gone forth against him, he having been credibly informed, that he had publicly described "*a bishop who did not preach as nothing better than a dumb dog,*

who fed not his flock but his own belly," Seton positively denied that he had used this impertinent and rude phraseology, but witnesses were produced who swore as positively to the fact. In his reply he explained himself, though not in the most courteous terms—"My lord," said he, "you have heard and may consider what ears these asses have who cannot discern between Paul, Isaiah, Zachariah, Malachi, and friar Alexander Seton. In truth, my lord, I did preach that Paul saith it behoveth a bishop to be a teacher. Isaiah saith that they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs; and the prophet Zachariah saith they are idle pastors. Of my own responsibility I assumed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God before pronounced, at which, my lord, if you be not offended, your lordship cannot be offended at me."* This defence, it may readily be conceived, was not less grating than the original accusation; and it is more than probable that, if the abbot of Arbroath had been at this time in St Andrews, a summary punishment would have been devised for the bold confessor.

Being more inclined to display his authority than to exercise it, the archbishop was unwilling to proceed against him; and the station which he occupied in the king's household was perhaps another reason for allowing him to remain unmolested. But it was necessary that he should be removed from the royal person, and accordingly he was denounced to James not only as a heretic, but as one whose rigid austerity would wish to restrain the innocent indulgences and recreations of his master. Seton soon perceived the alienation of the

* Spottiswood, p. 64. Petrie's Church History, Part ii, p. 172.

royal favour, and fearing that the personal protection which he had hitherto enjoyed would be withdrawn, he probably saved his life by a retreat into England. At Berwick he addressed a letter to the king, in which he explained the reasons for his flight, "which only is," says he, "because the bishops and churchmen of thy realme have had heretofore such authoritie upon thy subjects, that apparently they were rather the king and thou the subject." He lamented that he could find no opportunity before his flight to explain or defend himself, but he trusted that he would yet be permitted to justify himself from the imputations of his enemies; "and to certify thy highness," he continues, "that these are no vain words, but of deed and effect, here I offer me to thy grace to come in thy realm again, so that thy grace will give me audience, and hear what I have for me of the law of God: and cause any bishop or abbot, friar or secular, which is most convenient (some of them cannot read their matins, who are made judges of heresie), to impugne me by the law of God; and if my part be found wronge, thy grace being present and judge, I refuse no pain worthy or condyne for my fault." He concludes by entreating the king to restrain the persecuting spirit which had been manifested, and to suffer no one to be punished without first hearing his defence.* Seton lingered at Berwick for some time expecting an answer to his letter, in the hope that its perusal would once more restore him to that favour which he had long enjoyed. But in this he was disappointed. His accusers had succeeded so completely in prejudicing the

* Seton's Letter to James V., dated Berwick, 1528; Keith, Appendix, p. 4, 5.

mind of James against him that no answer was returned. He forgot his venerable confessor; and Seton, mortified and disappointed, took a final leave of his native country. We are told that he was afterwards accused of heresy before Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, during the reign of Queen Mary in 1541, and induced to renounce some of his opinions;* and it is said that he died the following year in the family of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, to whom he officiated as chaplain.†

After this event the disputes occasioned by the political animosities of the rival nobility so distracted the whole kingdom, that a religious calm of five years succeeded these first manifestations of severity on the part of the Romish dignitaries. The Scottish bishops, to a greater or less extent, were obliged to take an active part in these intestine commotions, which were often accompanied by the usual brawls, assassinations, and imprisonments of political or personal enemies. Their attention being thus engrossed, they had little leisure to attend to the rapid progress which the reformed doctrines were making throughout the country, or endeavouring to allay those excesses the exhibitions of which were so alarming. Archbishop Beaton kept himself at ease in St Andrews, his interest at court and the affairs of his diocese being attended to by his nephew, the abbot of Arbroath, who, in looking after that interest also attended to his own, and who by this time had obtained that ascendancy over the king which he contrived to possess till the sovereign's death. Five years afterwards, in the year 1533, religious prosecutions were

* Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 1000.

† Bale, Scrip. p. 224.

renewed, and began, as usual, in St Andrews. A young Benedictine named Henry Forrest had been often heard expressing the most enthusiastic admiration of Patrick Hamilton, and he was at length committed to prison. The accusations against him, however, were so vague and trifling, that for some time they kept him a close prisoner, not having sufficient courage to procure his condemnation. The same treacherous conduct which they had employed towards Hamilton was imitated towards this poor and simple Benedictine. A friar was employed to extort from him some confession, under the pretence of friendship, and the unsuspecting prisoner answered the questions of his pretended comforter and adviser without hesitation. During their intercourse he acknowledged that he thought the opinions for which Hamilton had been condemned might be defended. The confessor scrupled not to violate his oath of secrecy by revealing the disclosures of the prisoner. In addition, it was discovered that he had an English translation of the New Testament in his possession. His condemnation was now determined, and he was consigned to the stake at the north gate, or style, of the priory, near the cathedral. When he was conveyed to execution, the unfortunate Benedictine complained bitterly of the treachery by which he had been betrayed; but his reproaches were heard with indifference by his persecutors, and the people could only behold him with compassion.* We are told that upon this occasion, while the clergy were deliberating, before the sentence was pronounced, upon the mode of the

* Spottiswood's History, p. 65.

Benedictine's execution, a person named John Lindsay, who is described as being a "very merry man, and in great favour with the archbishop," that is, a witty and privileged retainer of the primate, thus addressed them, "If you burn any more of them, take my advice and burn them in cellars, for I assure you that the smoke of Patrick Hamilton has infected all upon whom it blew."*

In 1534, the abbot of Arbroath, the chief adviser of these prosecutions, having been entrusted by the king with a secret commission to the court of France, the general purport of which was to unite still more closely the alliance between that country and Scotland in opposition to Henry VIII., and to negotiate a marriage between James and the princess Magdalene, daughter of Francis I., procured an ecclesiastical commission to be constituted during his absence under the pretence of taking cognizance of heretics. James had publicly declared that it was his determination to support the religion of his ancestors, and to punish the innovators of the church; and after the departure of the abbot of Arbroath, an ecclesiastical court speedily was held, in the month of August, in the abbey of Holyroodhouse at Edinburgh,† at which James presided himself, clothed, it is said, in scarlet, the usual judicial dress in Scottish criminal cases. James Hay, bishop of Ross, sat as commissioner for the abbot of Arbroath, although nominally for the archbishop of St Andrews, in whose diocese the court

* Knox's Historie, p. 16.

† The *palace* of Holyroodhouse, though built by this prince, was not then founded. The *abbey* of Holyroodhouse, founded by King David I., was then entire—a magnificent structure, of which the ruins of the church, or chapel-royal, as it is now termed, still remain. The site of the old abbey is partly occupied by the present palace, and partly covered by gardens.

was held; but it is only justice to the memory of James V. to observe, that however mistaken and ill-directed was his zeal, he attended the trials for the purpose of inducing the accused to renounce their opinions, and in some instances he was successful.* Before this court a number of individuals were cited, some of whom recanted, and “burnt their faggots,” a ceremony enjoined by the Romish church, in the performance of which the accused persons were compelled publicly to burn a faggot of dry sticks, denoting that the materials were destroyed which would have been the instruments of their death. It appears, however, that a number of persons fled, among whom are mentioned three citizens of the town of Leith, the seaport of Edinburgh; an advocate named Johnston, whose property in Edinburgh was in consequence confiscated, and purchased for a trifling sum by the bishop of Orkney; and Henry Henderson, master of the grammar school of Edinburgh.† A priest named Kirk was also summoned, but whether he attended or fled is uncertain. The same authority informs us that the brother and sister of Patrick Hamilton were also cited before this court. James (or Sir James, as he is called) Hamilton, sheriff of Linlithgow, was accused of maintaining the opinions of his brother, but the king

* Keith, p. 8; Calderwood's MS.

† Calderwood's MS. These individuals are thus described:—Henry Cairns, skipper, Adam Dayes or Dales, shipwright, and John Stewart, indwellers in Leith. Johnstone returned during the regency of Arran, in the reign of Queen Mary, but it appears he never obtained possession of his property, and “after his death he gott no buriall, nather in church nor church-yard.” A woman in Leith was also summoned before this court for exclaiming while in labour, “Christ help me! Christ help me! in whose help I trust;” when the midwife desired her to say, “Our Ladie help me.” She recanted, and escaped without confiscation of goods, because she was married.

advised him not to appear, and to leave the kingdom, as he could not save him, the bishops having proved to him, he said, that heresy did not fall under his prerogative.* From this we may infer that Hamilton had determined to avow his religious sentiments, but he took the king's advice, and his estates were confiscated. His sister Catherine, however, obeyed the citation, and Calderwood relates an anecdote concerning her examination characteristic of the times. On being told that her own works could not save her, a fact which she admitted, a long theological discussion ensued between her and Spens of Condie, afterwards king's advocate; and she abruptly concluded by exclaiming, to the great annoyance of Spens, and the amusement of the auditors, "Work here, work there, what kind of work is all this? I know perfectly that no kind of works can save me but only the works of Christ, my Lord and Saviour." The king turned his head and laughed aloud; and conferring with her privately, caused her to recant, or pretended that she did so, not wishing that a second example of so near a relative should be exhibited, by which stratagem she escaped.†

Two convictions took place on this occasion, which

* Calderwood MS.

† Calderwood in his MS. calls this lady, by mistake, the king's aunt. She is afterwards noticed in a MS. letter from the Duke of Norfolk to Lord Cromwell (Brit. Mus.), dated 29th March 1539, as residing in Berwick, and it appears that she was married to the captain or governor of the castle of Dunbar. "Here is now in this towne" (Berwick), says his grace, "and hath been a good season, she that was wyfe to the late capitayne of Dunbar, and dar not return for holding our waies, as she saithe. She was in Englande and sawe Queen Jane (Seymour, one of Henry VIII.'s queens.) She was Sir Patrik Hamiltone's daughter, and her brother wes brent in Scotlande iij or iiij years past."

show the bigotry of the king, notwithstanding his general mildness of character, and evinces how far a vigorous and refined mind can be made callous by superstition. David Straiton, a gentleman of good family, a brother of the laird of Laurieston in Forfarshire, had been engaged in a quarrel with Patrick Hepburn, bishop of Moray and prior of St Andrews, on the subject of tithes; and in a burst of resentment at what he conceived to be unreasonable conduct on the part of that prelate, commanded his domestics to throw every tenth salmon or trout they caught into the river, telling the bishop's officers to seek their tithe where his servants got the stock.* On this account a prosecution was raised against him for contempt; but paying no attention to it, his opponents took the more effectual way of punishing him by citing him for heresy. Straiton had been formerly a man of extremely rough and licentious behaviour, but becoming acquainted with an individual of ancient family in the same county, John Erskine, baron of Dun, and provost or chief magistrate of Montrose, who subsequently sustained a prominent station in the proceedings of the reformers after the overthrow of the Romish church, he became a zealous protestant. Of this fact the church was well aware, and probably viewed this change in his opinions as the cause of his alleged contumacy towards the bishop of Moray. It is related of him, that as he was one day reading the Scriptures, he alighted on the passage wherein our Saviour declares that they who deny him before men will be denied by him before his Father

* Among his other revenues, the bishop of Moray, whose episcopal seat was at Elgin, was entitled to receive 12 lasts 8 barrels of salmon, and one barrel of trout.

and the holy angels, at which Straiton, deeply moved, fell on his knees, and exclaimed, "O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou withdraw thy grace from me; but, for thy mercies' sake, let me never deny thee or thy truth for fear of death or bodily pain." He seems to have resolutely refused to retract a single tenet charged against him, and to have withstood the earnest solicitations of the king himself to recant that his life might be spared. His companion in suffering was a priest named Norman Gourlay, who was charged with having married in defiance of the canonical laws of celibacy, with having declared that there was no purgatory, that the pope was antichrist, and that he ought not to have jurisdiction in Scotland. They were led to the stake at the rood or cross of Greenside, on the road from Edinburgh to Leith, in a small valley, now covered with streets and houses, on the north side of the Calton Hill, where there stood a church and monastery of Carmelite Friars dedicated to the Holy Cross, which had been founded so recently as the year 1526. They both died with great constancy and resolution on the 27th August 1534.

It was in this year that pope Clement VII., at the instance of the Scottish clergy, granted to James a tenth part of all the ecclesiastical revenues in the kingdom for three years, as an additional inducement, in thus providing for his temporal necessities, to be active in the prosecution of heresy. Several acts were accordingly passed in a parliament which met at Edinburgh in the year 1535, against the "damnable opinions of the great heretic Luther."* In all this James was encouraged by

* Keith, p. 12-14.

the liberality of the clergy, who constantly supplied him with money to promote his variance with the English monarch, and to strengthen the alliance with France. Lindsay of Pitscottie has stated one great and essential reason, in his own quaint way, why they were so jealous of any intimacy or intercourse between Henry VIII. and James V.; and they induced the latter to annul a solemn promise which he had made to the English ambassador, to hold an interview with Henry on the Borders; "for the bishops conceived in their minds," says Lindsay, "that if king Henry met with our king, that he would cause him to cast down the abbeyes of Scotland, like as he (Henry) had done in England. Therefore they budded (bribed) the king to bide at home, and gave him three thousand pounds a-year to sustain his house from their benefices."*

But religious persecution was happily suspended for upwards of four years after these transactions, the abbot of Arbroath being for the most part in France, where he was laying the foundation of that greatness and grandeur which were afterwards his ruin. In the month of May 1538, that able and ambitious ecclesiastic arrived in Scotland with the second queen of James V., the celebrated Mary of Guise, mother of Queen Mary, afterwards regent of Scotland, and who at this time was the widow of the duke of Longueville. They landed at Fifeness, the eastern point of that county, and halted at the house of Balcomie in the neighbourhood, then belonging to a gentleman named Learmonth, and in the immediate vicinity of the sea-coast burgh of Crail. James, who was then at St Andrews waiting his bride's arrival,

* History, p. 230.

proceeded from that city to Crail, which is about eleven miles distant, to welcome the princess, attended by a large assemblage of the bishops, nobility, and country gentlemen. She was escorted in triumph through the east of Fife to St Andrews. On her arrival in that city, the marriage ceremony was performed in the cathedral by the abbot of Arbroath. A magnificent procession graced the festivities, consisting of the prelates, abbots, and higher ecclesiastics, and the friars and canons in their rich habiliments, to the cathedral, and "made great solemnity in the kirk (cathedral) with masses, songs, and playing of the organs."*

The abbot of Arbroath had now leisure to investigate the affairs of the church, and a convocation of prelates and other clergy was held at Edinburgh in 1539, in the church of the Black Friars monastery in that city, situated on the south side of the old town, in the immediate vicinity of the Kirk of Field, afterwards celebrated as the scene of the murder of Lord Darnley, husband of Queen Mary. This convocation was to be distinguished by a fresh crusade against heretics. It is remarkable that the great majority of converts to the Reformation, or *apostates*, as they were termed, were found among the inferior orders of the clergy, who appear to have been progressing towards true religion in proportion as their superiors receded from it. Several individuals were compelled to appear before them, some of whom were dismissed with admonitions and warnings, but others were marked for summary vengeance. The judges in this case were the abbot of Arbroath, now

* Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 250.

promoted by Paul III. to the dignity of a cardinal, who sat for his uncle the archbishop, and William Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane, whose morality may be estimated by the fact of his being at that time the father of three illegitimate children, for whom he provided ample portions by alienating the revenues of his bishopric, and also, "on account of his opposition to the new reformation," contriving to make a suitable provision out of the same source for his nephew, Sir James Chisholm of Cromlex, a small property near the city of Dunblane.*

The individuals against whom the vengeance of the church was directed on this occasion were five in number, and, with the exception of one, ecclesiastics. These were John Keillor, of the order of the Dominicans or Black Friars, John Beveridge, also a Black Friar, Duncan Simpson, a priest at Stirling (called Sir Duncan Simpson†), Dean Thomas Forret or Forrest, vicar of Dollar, in the diocese of Dunkeld, county of Clackmannan, and a canon regular of the monastery of St Colm's Inch, or Inchcolm, a small island in the Frith of Forth near the coast of Fife, on which was at this time the wealthy monastery of Augustines founded in 1123 by Alexander I. The layman was a gentleman of Stirling, named Robert Forrester, a notary by profession.‡

Of these five victims to tyranny, for the cardinal's

* Keith's Catalogue, p. 179.

† All dignified priests were generally called *Sir* in common *parlance* in Scotland.—*Spottiswood*, p. 95.

‡ It appears that on this occasion the greater number of cases were from the town of Stirling.—*Cald. MS.* This gentleman had a relation named William Forrester, also accused of heresy, but who abjured or recanted. His goods were, however, confiscated along with the property of some other burgesses of that town.—*Pitcuirn's Criminal Trials*, vol. i. p. 252, 253.

mind was too acute to be influenced by superstition, we have only information respecting two of them, Keillor the Dominican, and Forrest, the vicar of Dollar, though the general charge was of course the same against them all, namely, that of being "heresiarchs, or chief hereticks, and teachers of heresie."* The crime of Keillor was, that he had composed one of the plays or dramatic mysteries common in those times, usually personified among the people at the Easter and Christmas holidays, which had been acted at Stirling on Good Friday before the king, and in which, under the character of the chief priests and pharisees who persecuted our Saviour, he had pointedly alluded to the prelates and others, who "blind the people, and persuade princes and judges to persecute such as profess Christ Jesus his blessed gospel."† Respecting the vicar of Dollar, who seems to have been a primitive ecclesiastic, yet a man of considerable shrewdness, there are some circumstances worthy of notice. His conversion was effected by the perusal of a volume of St Augustine which he found in the monastery of St Colm, shortly after his return from Cologne, where he had been educated at the expense of a benevolent lady in Fifeshire. He had often been summoned before the archbishop of St Andrews and the bishop of Dunkeld, but as these prelates were indolent, and averse to severe measures, he had been always dismissed with a rebuke. He was on this occasion accused of preaching to his parishioners in Dollar every

* Two of the accusations against them are not a little singular: they were present at the marriage of a priest who was vicar of Tullibody near Stirling, and they ate flesh at the said marriage, which happened to be celebrated during Lent.—*Cald. MS.*

† Calderwood, *ut sup.*

Sunday from the epistle and gospel for the day, a duty which then devolved chiefly on the orders of the Grey and Black Friars, who alleged that he had often encroached on their privileges on former occasions. When Forrest was before his diocesan, Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, a prelate, we are told by Keith, more celebrated for his hospitality than for his theological attainments, the following dialogue took place between them:—"Dean Thomas," said the bishop, "my joe,* I love you well, and therefore I will give you council how to conduct yourself. I am informed that you preach from the epistle and gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you do not take the cow and the uppermost cloth† from your parishioners, which is very prejudicial to churchmen; and therefore, my joe, I wish you to take your cow and uppermost cloth, as do other churchmen. It is also too much for you to preach every Sunday, for in so doing you make the people think that we should preach likewise. It is enough for you, when you find any good epistle or gospel that setteth forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach on that, and leave the rest." "My lord," answered Forrest, "I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I do not take the cow and the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, or any other thing that they have; and therefore, my lord, we cordially agree, and there is no discord among us. But as to your lordship's remark, that it is too much to preach every Sunday, I

* *My joe*—a familiar term of address among intimate friends.

† The mortuary and the chrism. These were dues to which the priest was entitled at an interment to deliver the soul from purgatory. The perquisites were, the *best cow* of the deceased, if he had any, in country parishes, and *uppermost cloth*, or covering of the bed.

think it is too little, and only wish that your lordship would do the same." "Nay, nay," said the bishop, "touch not on that subject; we are not appointed to preach." "But when your lordship," replied Forrest, "biddeth me preach when I find any good epistle or gospel, truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them I never could find an evil epistle or gospel; but if your lordship will shew me the good epistle and the good gospel, then I shall preach the good and omit the evil." "I thank God," said the bishop stoutly, "that I never knew what the Old and New Testaments were; therefore, dean Thomas, I want to know nothing but my missal and my breviary. Go your way, and leave all these fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous notions you will repent of it when it is too late."*—On another occasion, he was strongly advised by the abbot of Inchcolm to "say as they say, to keep his mind to himself, and save himself"—a prudential advice which many of the Romish priesthood followed, who had no particular desire to be prosecuted; but this formed no part of Forrest's plan. "I thank your lordship," he replied; "you are a friend to my body, but not to my soul. Before I deny a word that I have spoken, you shall see this body of mine blow away with the wind in ashes."† It was also alleged against Forrest, that he had taught

* The substance of this conversation soon got abroad in Scotland, and originated a common proverb, which was well known for many years to denote excessive and wilful ignorance, "Ye are like the bishop of Dunkeld, who knew neither the Auld Law nor the New."

† It is evident from these, and similar expressions in the case of others, that some who were put to death for religion, both in England and Scotland, actually coveted martyrdom; and from enthusiastically

his parishioners the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; that he had called in question the right of the church to the exorbitant tithes then extorted; and that in some instances he had returned them to his parishioners.

The accusations against Forrest were read by the Official of Lothian, John Lauder, an ecclesiastical officer peculiar to the diocese of St Andrews, who behaved with great rudeness on the occasion. In his defence, being called upon to prove certain opinions he had advanced, Forrest unexpectedly exhibited a copy of the New Testament, which so amazed the Official, that he rushed towards the unfortunate vicar, and pulled it with indecent haste out of his hand. "Behold!" said he, turning to the auditors, "he has the very book of heresy in his sleeve which makes all the din and trouble in the church." "Brother," replied Forrest, mildly, "God forgive you; you might express yourself better than call the book of the evangel of Jesus Christ the book of heresy. I assure you, dear brother, that there is nothing in that book but the life, last will, and testament of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, penned by the four evangelists for our instruction and comfort." "Knowest thou not," said Lauder, "that it is contrary to our canons and express commands to have a New Testament or Bible in English, and that this of itself is enough to condemn thee?"

The five prisoners were condemned, and led to the stake on the esplanade of the castle of Edinburgh, in meditating upon it, had familiarized themselves to such a death. The same feeling prevailed among the Scottish Covenanters during the ensuing century.

which fortress they had been confined previous to their trial. The sentence was executed on the 1st of March 1538-9; they were first strangled, and afterwards burnt. When Forrest was brought to the stake, a friar named Arbuckle, who had been appointed to attend, thus addressed him—"Say, I believe in God;" to which Forrest replied, "I believe in God." "And our lady," continued the friar. "I believe as our lady believeth," replied the vicar. "Nay," said the friar, "say, I believe in God and in our lady."—"Cease," he replied, "tempt me not. I know what I should say as well as you, thanks be to God." He then commenced an address to the bystanders—"I never administered the sacrament but I said, as the bread entereth in your mouth, so shall Christ dwell by lively faith in your hearts." But here he was interrupted by the rude jests of the attendants, who appear to have viewed this inhuman exhibition with the utmost indifference. "Away, away," said a soldier or jackman, "we will have no preaching here." Another took the New Testament, and held it up to the people, exclaiming, "Heresy, heresy! Burn him, burn him!" The unfortunate vicar mildly betook himself, along with his companions in suffering, to his devotions, repeating alternately, in Latin and English, "God be merciful to me a sinner," and, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." He then commenced the 51st Psalm in Latin, "*Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam tuam misericordiam;*" and continued reciting it with his companions until he was strangled at the stake.

It is melancholy to reflect that James was induced to be present at this tragedy. The presence of the king himself in Edinburgh at an *auto da fê*, is likewise

noticed in the Household Book of King James V., under the date March 1, 1539—"Accusatio haereticorum et eorum combustio apud Edinburgh. Rege presenti." A short contemporary comment upon this event occurs in an original letter from the Duke of Norfolk to Lord Cromwell, preserved in the British Museum, dated Berwick, March 29, 1539. Complaining of the bigotry of King James V., his grace says, "Dayly commeth unto me some gentlemen and some clerks (priests), wiche do flee out of Scotland, as they saie, for redying of Scriptures in Inglische, saing that if they wer taken they sholde be put to execution. I give them gentle words, and to some money."* This evidently affirms what is said of James V., that "he had a solemn vow, that no one would be spared that was suspected of heresie, though he were his own son."†

But these exhibitions were not confined exclusively to Edinburgh. The reformed doctrines had spread in the western counties, and it was judged necessary to make some examples in Glasgow. A commission was sent to that city, consisting of John Lauder, Andrew Oliphant, and a friar named Maltman, to stimulate Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, to the same zeal. Two individuals were cited to appear before them, one named Jerome Russell, of the order of the Grey Friars in Glasgow; the other named Kennedy, a young gentleman of Ayrshire, only eighteen years of age. The archbishop of Glasgow, to his honour, at first positively refused to sanction the proceedings. The defence made by Russell had left a deep impression on that prelate.

* Archæologia, vol. xxii. p. 7, 8.

† Calderwood MS.

He declared that such punishments had injured the cause they were designed to promote, and earnestly exhorted them to give up the prosecution, and set the prisoners at liberty. But the commissioners from Edinburgh were not of such tender mood. "What will you do, my lord?" was their remonstrance. "Will you censure all that the Lord Cardinal, other bishops, and we have done? If so, you show yourself an enemy to the church and to us, and, be assured, we must report you as such." Not wishing to be brought into collision with the cardinal, whose disposition he well knew, the archbishop had not firmness to resist the threat, and he reluctantly acquiesced in what he had not the courage and the power to avert. Kennedy, whose extreme youth awakened pity, would at first have gladly recanted; but when he was told that it would be of no service to him, he met his fate with a spirit and a resolution far superior to his years. He was consoled by Russell his companion. "Brother," said Russell, "fear not. More mighty is He that is in us than he that is in the world. The pain which we are about to suffer is short, and will be light; but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Therefore let us strive to enter in by that strait gate through which our Master and Saviour hath entered before us. Death cannot destroy us, for it is destroyed already by Him for whose sake we suffer." They were brought to the stake at the Townhead of Glasgow, in the immediate vicinity of the archbishop's palace and cathedral, and submitted to their fate with great courage and resolution.

These proceedings on the part of the cardinal, whose influence in the kingdom was now irresistible, began to

be viewed in a serious light by many individuals. This had been the most severe persecution which had yet taken place, and it was evident that busy preparations were making for the punishment of others. Numbers were compelled to save their lives by flight, among whom were some eminent and learned men in the universities, who, like Erasmus, though they loved the truth, had not resolution to die for it. Among those are recorded the names of Gavin Logie, rector of St Leonard's College, then recently founded in the university of St Andrews, who had been particularly active in impressing the new doctrines upon his students, and who was popularly said to have drank out of St Leonard's well; and John Macbee, better known by his classical soubriquet of Dr Macca-bæus, although his real name was M'Alpine. He first fled into England, and subsequently retired to Denmark, where he distinguished himself under Christien III. in advancing the protestant doctrines, and was one of the translators of the Danish Bible, first printed at Copenhagen in 1550. But the most celebrated refugee on this occasion was George Buchanan, undoubtedly the most distinguished scholar of his age, but the unprincipled and ungrateful detractor of his sovereign, an apologist for murder, and the abettor of sedition. Divested as he was at all times of any religious tendencies, although inclined to the opinions of the Reformation, because they suited his political principles, Buchanan, about the year 1537, had composed a poem called *Somnium*, or the Dream, the purport of which was a bitter, and perhaps a well-merited, satire on the order of the Franciscans, which procured for him the hatred of the clergy in general, but particularly of that order. About

that period, James himself, having occasion to be offended at the Franciscans, among his other schemes to mortify and ridicule them, ordered Buchanan to write a satire against them, not aware that the poet had already incurred their hatred. Buchanan, at all times careful about his own safety, would rather have declined the task, but being obliged to gratify the king, he produced a covert satire, in two parts, entitled *Palinodia*, which he imagined would give little offence to the friars, but which, in fact, while it was keen enough to satisfy the king, exasperated his enemies still more furiously than its predecessor. The poem entitled *Franciscanus* succeeded the *Palinodia*, in which Buchanan gave full scope to his fancy, and represented the whole Franciscan order as a disgusting compound of impudence, impiety, ignorance, and sensuality. Every measure was now adopted for revenge by his enemies, who were both numerous and powerful; and he was at length apprehended, and imprisoned in the Sea Tower of the episcopal castle of St Andrews. The cardinal, who was most anxious to obtain possession of Buchanan's person, offered, it is said, a considerable sum of money to James to withdraw his protection from him; but for this assertion there is not the slightest authority, and it is evidently set forth as an assumed fact from the circumstance of the cardinal's well-known hatred towards him. That the stake was reserved for Buchanan there can be little doubt: but he contrived to effect his escape from the castle of St Andrews shortly after the execution of the vicar of Dollar and his companions, while the cardinal was in Edinburgh, by the agency of James Beaton, the cardinal's

nephew, afterwards archbishop of Glasgow.* He fled into England, from which he retired to the Continent, where he endured a variety of vicissitudes in France and Portugal. He did not return to Scotland until after 1560. While in France, however, he did not escape the notice of the cardinal, whom he on one occasion accidentally met in the streets of Paris. The cardinal wrote to the archbishop of Bourdeaux, requesting him to secure Buchanan, and send him to Scotland as a heretic and rebel; and this would probably have been done, had not the letter accidentally fallen into the hands of one of the poet's friends, who detained it until its contents were of no farther use. The death of King James V. soon afterwards occurred, and the cardinal found that he had enough to do at home, without looking after the Scottish heretics abroad.

In the year 1539, there was an execution at Cupar, the county town of Fife, which, it is remarkable, is not noticed by the writers of that period. The only allusion to it occurs in the accounts of the lord high treasurer of Scotland, who is styled Robert, Abbot of Holyroodhouse, and who had succeeded William Stewart, bishop of Aberdeen, in that office. The entry is thus made:—*“Item, deliverit to twa pure wemene, for ij ky (cows), the tyme that the manne was burnt for heresy in Cowper, price of y^e ane, xl s. and y^e vther kow, ls. summa iiij. lb. x s.”*† In the criminal records, sundry individuals are denounced for having “heretical books” in their possession; and others are “put to the horn,” as it is called in

* Jebb, vol. ii. p. 486, apud Chalmers' Life of Ruddiman, vol. ii. p. 715.

† Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 297.

Scotland, that is outlawed, for escaping from prisons, defacing altars in churches, and exhibiting other destructive antipathies towards the Romish religion.

But in the autumn of 1539, an event occurred which was attended with most important consequences. This was the death of James Beaton, archbishop of St Andrews, which took place at St Andrews, where he was solemnly interred in the cathedral church. As the date of his birth is not known, it is impossible to ascertain his exact age, but that he was well advanced in years is evident, from the fact of his having been at that time in the thirty-ninth year of his consecration as a bishop, and in the seventeenth of his primacy as archbishop of St Andrews. During his latter years he had retired, as we have seen, from public life, and had committed the affairs of the church to the controul of the cardinal. His character is variously represented by the parties who then prevailed; by one he is honoured with the highest applause, and by the other loaded with accusations of the most savage and unprincipled cruelty. It is evident, however, that, being engaged for the greater part of his life in the political strifes of the times, he beheld with indifference the speculative opinions which during his primacy were entertained on religious subjects. His character is most happily expressed by Archbishop Spottiswood, one of his protestant successors. "Seventeen years," says that primate, "he lived bishop of this see (St Andrews), and was herein most unfortunate, that under the shadow of his authority many good men were put to death for the cause of religion, though he himself was neither violently set, nor much solicitous, as it was thought, how matters were in the church." His

chief employment at the time of his death was endowing and erecting St Mary's College in St Andrews. He recommended the cardinal as his successor in the see and the primacy—a recommendation which, out of respect and attachment to his memory, was sanctioned by the king; and that able ecclesiastic took possession of a dignity which he had long enjoyed in reality, and the active administration of which he had conducted with vigour and severity.

CHAPTER IV.

LIFE OF DAVID BEATON, CARDINAL, AND ARCHBISHOP OF ST ANDREWS.

CARDINAL DAVID BEATON, who has been appropriately styled the Wolsey of Scotland, before whose indomitable spirit the protestant faith trembled in that kingdom during his lifetime, was in the forty-fifth year of his age when he succeeded his uncle in the archiepiscopal see of St Andrews. He was in many respects the greatest, the most active, and the most distinguished ecclesiastic which Scotland had produced before the Reformation; and there can be little doubt that had he not been prematurely murdered, he would have retarded the progress of the Reformation for many years in Scotland, or materially changed its subsequent aspect. The character of this prelate has been most keenly delineated, but his enemies have been for the most part his historians. There was no one of his age of whom the protestants stood in such fear and terror; his master-mind grasped at all their plans, and circumvented all their designs; and so thoroughly did they dread him, that not only his death, but the manner of it, inspired them with the most frantic joy and exultation. It is to be observed that the cardinal was evidently actuated in none of his proceedings by superstitious feelings. He was too sagacious and too worldly to believe all the

tenets of the Romish church. Religion in his mind appears to have been altogether a secondary concern. He loved and supported the Romish system because it was the *church*; and he maintained it because he was at its head in Scotland. Had he lived in other times, born under other circumstances, or attached to another system, he would have been equally great and formidable. He seems to have viewed the religious tenets of the protestants with contempt, and no instance is recorded of his ever having discussed a single point with any of them. He beheld them as the natural enemies of himself, as representing the church, and of the state; as disturbers of the country, who ought not to be tolerated, and against whom it was necessary to enforce the most severe measures.

The cardinal, the second of that rank and order in Scotland, born in 1594, at Balfour, a baronial mansion in the county of Fife, was the son of John Beaton or Bethune of Balfour, the elder brother of the former archbishop, and of Isobel Monypenny, daughter of David Monypenny of Pitmilley, chief of one of the most ancient families of that county. He was educated at the university of St Andrews, where he gave early indications of those talents and abilities for which he was afterwards distinguished.* His uncle, who was during the cardinal's youth archbishop of Glasgow, soon discovered his talents, and adopted him as his ward and peculiar favourite. After completing his academical course at St Andrews, he was sent to the university of Paris, where he studied

* Dempster, Eccles. Hist. lib. ii. p. 88; Keith, p. 44; Father Hay's Panegyric on the Cardinal.

theology and the canon and civil law for some years. At the appointed age, he entered into holy orders, and his first preferment was the rectory of Campsie, in Stirlingshire, about nine miles from Glasgow, which he received from his uncle, then archbishop of that see. His long residence in France procured for him the favour of the duke of Albany, and subsequently of James V.; and he was appointed ambassador to the French court in 1519. His uncle, on being translated to the primacy of St Andrews in 1522, resigned, in the following year, the abbacy of Aberbrothwick, or Arbroath, in his favour, and prevailed with the duke of Albany, then regent, to write to pope Adrian VI., both in his own name and in that of the young king, to dispense with some formalities necessary to be observed by an ecclesiastic of young Beaton's standing, and to transmit the bulls for his investiture with the greatest expedition. To this arrangement the pope readily agreed, and in 1525, when he returned to Scotland, he took his place in parliament as the superior of that wealthy abbey, the revenues of which exceeded L.10,000 sterling of our money per annum.* From this time forward, his whole

* The revenues of the abbey of Arbroath, at the Reformation, were thus stated in 1561, in the return ordered by the Privy Council:—

In money,	£2553	14	0	
Tithes of Abernethy, in Perthshire,	273	0	0	
Do. of Tannadyce, in Forfarshire,	237	5	4	
	£3063	19	4	Scots.

	C.	B.	F.	P.
Wheat,	30	3	3	2
Barley,	143	9	0	2
Meal,	196	9	2	0
Oats,	27	11	0	0

services were devoted to the interests of the court of France and the French party in Scotland, at the head of which was the regent, duke of Albany; and his utmost exertions were used to frustrate the plans of the English party, at the head of which was the Earl of Angus and some of the nobility. He continued the undeviating enemy of Henry VIII.; and how that monarch appreciated his hostility can be best ascertained, when he found that by no exertion or influence could he gain an ascendancy in Scotland until he procured his destruction.

Beaton, however, in these political transactions, for which he sacrificed his life, was not influenced solely by theological considerations. The subsequent conduct of Henry, in his rupture with the court of Rome, his renouncing the papal supremacy, and his attempts at furthering the Reformation in Scotland for his own security, doubtless confirmed the cardinal in his public conduct, and made him the more resolute in his opposition to the English influence; but at this time he was guided solely by the choice he had made, strengthened by early associations, and his own projects of ambition. After the king assumed the government, notwithstanding the various changes which occasionally took place in proportion as the rival parties were successful, he was never obliged to quit the king, nor did he ever lose his ascendancy in the Scottish court. In 1528, he succeeded the bishop of Dunkeld as Lord Privy Seal, and he is said to have been

From the parish of Monifieth,

	C.	B.	F.	P.
Wheat,	4	12	0	0
Barley,	12	9	0	0
Meal,	15	10	0	6

Besides 37 barrels of salmon, 2 barrels of grilses, and capons, poultry, grassums, and other dues.

the adviser of James in instituting the highest legal tribunal in Scotland, called the College of Justice, or Court of Session,* the idea of which, it is generally allowed, was suggested by the constitution of the parliament of Paris, and which was founded at Edinburgh in 1530. During some following years he was employed in confidential business at the court of France, and, among other important matters, in negociating a marriage between James and the princess Magdalene. His skilful penetration enabled him to transmit to James much important intelligence respecting the plans of his uncle Henry VIII., by which the former avoided a serious quarrel with the English monarch. During his residence in France, he was noticed with the most marked attention by Francis I., who conferred upon him all the privileges of a French subject; and on account of the great and signal services he had rendered in his diplomatic capacity, he was presented with the bishopric of Mirepoix, a city in Upper Languedoc, in the province of the archbishop of Toulouse, to which see he was consecrated on the 6th December 1537.† He returned to Scotland with James V. and

* Drummond's History of Scotland, p. 299. Mr Tytler, in his History of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 247, strangely ascribes this honour to Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, without the slightest reason for the assertion except that Dunbar had been preceptor to James V.

† The revenues of this see amounted to 10,000 livres per annum, an immense sum in those times, in addition to the revenue of the abbey of Arbroath. Beaton also received a grant in 1539, conferring upon him considerable property in France, in which the grant of 1537 is recited, confirming him in all his privileges as a native of France, and permitting his heirs to succeed him in his French estate, although they might be born in Scotland. Bishop Keith says, that an authentic copy of this grant, of which the original still remains in the Cardinal's family, is preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh.—*History*, p. 44.

his young queen Magdalene, whom he had married in France; but he went again to Paris on the death of that princess, and negotiated the second marriage between James and Mary of Guise, in which we have already seen he was eminently successful, embarking with the young queen, landing her safely in Fife, and afterwards solemnizing the marriage in the cathedral church of St Andrews. On the 28th of December, the following year, he was raised to the dignity of a cardinal by Paul III., by the title of *cardinal of St Stephen in Monte Caelio*; and having been for some time coadjutor to his uncle in the primacy, he thus attained, while only in his 44th year, one of the highest dignities which the church of Rome could bestow.

The policy of the court of Rome in bestowing a cardinal's hat upon Beaton will be at once understood, when we consider the ecclesiastical appearances of the times. It is true that there had been only one appointment of a similar nature conferred upon a Scottish prelate, Walter Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow, in the reigns of David II. and Robert II., from 1368 to 1389. The great object of the Roman pontiff was to secure the English and Scottish hierarchy; and he had destined that honour for a prelate of England, namely, Dr John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who fell a sacrifice to the resentment of Henry VIII. The proceedings of the English monarch, however, had completely overthrown the influence of the papal court in England; and the ascendancy over the church of England being at an end, it was the more necessary to secure Scotland; for, besides the near relationship of James to the king of England, the probable chances of his succession to the crown of that kingdom,

and the devotion of the sovereign, the clergy, and the nation, to the system of their ancestors, the local position of the country was likely to prove a continual source of disquietude to Henry, and to foment numerous intrigues against him, by the aid of the English catholics, who in many districts were possessed of great influence, and who were extremely dissatisfied with the king's government. There was no one in Scotland on whom the pontiff could confer the cardinal's hat with so much dignity as upon Beaton. His uncle the primate was now old, infirm, and indolent, and averse to those extreme measures which he had been already persuaded to sanction in religious matters. The latter objection applied equally to the archbishop of Glasgow, who not only wanted energy for the dignity, but who, though he did not object to punish heretics by fine and imprisonment in the civil or ecclesiastical courts, had positively refused to have any farther connection with prosecutions the results of which were revolting and odious. Beaton, moreover, had given many proofs of devotion to the papal interest. Francis I. had urged his right to this distinction in a most earnest and energetic manner; and the pontiff vainly imagined, that by bestowing some marks of favour upon the Scottish hierarchy, he would excite the jealousy of the English prelates, and induce them to return to the acknowledgment of his supreme authority. On these accounts it was, in addition to his own merits, that the cardinal's hat was bestowed on David Beaton—a distinction which only one Scotsman had attained before him since the foundation of the monarchy; and a distinction of which, whatever was his private life, none was more deserving, in point of talent, zeal, and undaunted

enterprize. This will sufficiently explain the efforts of the Roman pontiff to prop the tottering hierarchy in Scotland, by honouring the man who, if it could be saved by human ingenuity, was then the only one capable of preserving it, in defiance of the English interest, and of the spread of the protestant faith. Beaton well knew that as long as the king lived the hierarchy was safe.

In 1539, the cardinal succeeded his uncle in the primacy, and he began to adopt systematic measures for the total extirpation of the protestant doctrines and their professors. This vigour he felt it the more necessary to exercise, for by the intrigues and representations of Henry's ambassador, he had at this time nearly forfeited the king's favour.* But he had yet another object to attain before he developed his measures, namely, to be appointed *legatus natus*, and *legate à latere*, in Scotland—an appointment which invested him with sovereign authority in matters ecclesiastical, and which entitled him, if he saw it expedient, to act as sole judge in all such cases without being responsible to the crown. It is true, the fact of his being primate to a certain extent included legantine power, but it was inferior to that

* This was a scheme laid by Henry VIII. against the cardinal, who never rested till he procured Beaton's death. He instructed his ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler, to represent to James that the cardinal held correspondence with traitors; that he was labouring to make himself independent of the crown, by the powers he was intrusted with by the court of Rome; and that he was bartering the interests and honour of the kingdom by his entire devotion to the see of Rome. The ambassador, in his letters to Henry, gives a long account of his conversations with the Scottish king respecting the cardinal, and concludes in these words: "I assure your Majesty, he (James V.) excused the cardinal in every thing, and seemed wondrous lothe to hear of any thing that should sound as an untruth in him, but rather gave him great praise."—*Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters*, p. 31–36, 55–57.

jurisdiction which the nomination of papal legate conferred. He accordingly despatched Andrew Oliphant, the ecclesiastic who had made himself conspicuous on various occasions, to Rome, with ample instructions to urge this appointment on the pope, to explain more fully to his Holiness the peculiar position of the Scottish church, and to develop his plans for the total suppression of heresy, and the entire submission of the nation to the Roman see. The correspondence has been preserved,* minutely tedious and lengthy, but the substance of it has been now stated. The pope conferred upon the cardinal the authority desired, and thus invested him with those powers, the exercise of which had been singularly effectual for centuries in supporting throughout Europe the papal supremacy.

We are henceforth to view the cardinal as the last support of the Romish church in Scotland. In his single person were concentrated its strength and stability, and, as far as man could accomplish it, its continuance as the national church. Of this fact, indeed, he seems himself to have been aware; and, nothing daunted by his hazardous situation, he resolutely determined to meet and combat every obstacle. In those times it was impossible for churchmen not to mingle in political affairs; and as these were the cardinal's peculiar element, he entered more deeply into public transactions, in order to promote his own views and the safety of the church. In the year 1540, the first year of his primacy, he had the mortification to find that some of the nobility, and a considerable number of country gentlemen, had become converts to the

* Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters, p. 17, 18, 19.

protestant doctrines, besides many of the inferior orders. Among those are mentioned the Earl of Glencairn and his son Lord Kilmaurs, the Earl of Errol, Lord Ruthven* and part of his family, Sir James Sandilands, preceptor of the Knights Templars, or order of St John of Jerusalem,† Erskine of Dun, who was an early convert, Straiton of Laurieston, brother of David Straiton who had been burnt at Edinburgh, Sir John Melville of Raith in Fife, Henry Balnaves of Halhill, an eminent lawyer, who had raised himself solely by his own abilities, who had been employed on various important embassies by the king, notwithstanding the opposition of the clergy, and who was at this time one of the judges of the College of Justice,‡ and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, in Fifeshire, Lord Lyon King-at-Arms, a distinguished poet and mortal enemy of the cardinal, whose satires, plays, and poems, ridiculing the clergy, were repeatedly acted on public occasions, and perhaps did more at this period to undermine popery, and render the Romish

* Father of Lord Ruthven who murdered David Rizzio in the palace of Holyroodhouse in presence of Queen Mary.

† He contrived to get the lands belonging to the Hospitallers erected into a temporal lordship at the Reformation, and was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Torphichen.

‡ This eminent individual, who continued throughout his life the pensioned minion of Henry, is stated in Dr Birkenhout's *Biographia Literaria*, or *Lives of English, Scottish, and Irish Authors* (4to, London, 1777), vol. i. p. 196, to have been a "Protestant Divine." It is unnecessary to add, that Balnaves was not one of the protestant preachers. He was fond, like many others of his age, of polemical controversy, and left two treatises behind him, the one on *justification*, the other a *confession of faith*, full of the most extravagant and ridiculous tenets, and which, although the former treatise is warmly applauded by John Knox in his "*Historie of the Reformation*," would warrant us to believe that the Scottish reformers were sometimes not unjustly accused of heresy, and that they held opinions as extravagant and absurd as those of their popish adversaries.

church contemptible in the eyes of the community, than the most vehement sermons and harangues of the protestant preachers.

The first act of the cardinal was to denounce Sir John Borthwick, provost or captain of the town of Linlithgow, as a noted heretic, and in order to give this effect, he made an entrance into his metropolitan city in a manner the pomp and splendour of which exceeded the exhibitions of any of his predecessors. In the month of May 1540, he proceeded to St Andrews, attended by the leading chiefs of the nobility, the Earls of Arran, Huntly, Montrose, and the Earl Marischal, Lords Fleming, Lindsay, Erskine, and Seaton, the archbishop of Glasgow (Lord Chancellor), the bishops of Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunblane, and Galloway, the abbots of Melrose, Dunfermline, Lindores, Culross, Paisley, and Kinloss, and a train of priors, deans, doctors of divinity, and other clergy. As this was his first appearance as primate, cardinal, and *legatus à latere*, a splendid procession was made to the cathedral, in which, seated on his throne or chair in the choir, the cardinal delivered a long address to the assembled prelates, noblemen, and ecclesiastics, declaring to them the dangers which were threatening the holy catholic church from the proceedings of Henry VIII. in England, and lamenting the great increase of heresy in Scotland, which, he said, had invaded even the precincts of the royal court. He urged upon them the absolute necessity there now was, for the independence of their country and the preservation of the true faith, to oppose the influence of the English monarch; declared his determination to act with vigour in the defence of the church, and to bring to justice all heretics and disturbers

of the peace of the kingdom. This discourse, delivered in his peculiar manner, which was very energetic and commanding, he being a man of fine appearance and countenance,* had a considerable effect on his hearers, all of whom were determined supporters of the Romish hierarchy. He then caused the citation which he had sent to Sir John Borthwick to be read, and also the articles of accusation charged against him; but Sir John knew the cardinal too well to make his appearance, and had wisely provided for his safety by a retreat into England. He had received information of the cardinal's designs against him, and neither appeared in person nor by proxy. He was accused of maintaining, and industriously propagating, that the pope had no greater authority over christians than any other bishop, and of asserting that indulgences and pardons granted by the pope are of no effect, but only deceive the people; that it is lawful for bishops and other ecclesiastics to marry; that the heresies, as they were called, of England, or at least the greater or most part of them, and the liturgy, as these are now known, understood, and practised by Englishmen, are true and just, and to be embraced and observed by all true christians; that the Scottish nation were altogether ignorant, blinded, and deceived, and

* There are various paintings of the cardinal in the baronial mansions of Fife, the proprietors of which were connected with or descendants of his family. There is one at Kilconquhar Castle, the seat of Sir Henry Bethune, in which he is represented with a scull-cap on his head, and dressed in a black gown similar to those now worn by the clergy in the pulpit. There is also a fine portrait of him in the palace of Holyroodhouse, in which he is represented in the same dress. In both his countenance is uncommonly mild and pleasing, and indicating a disposition the very reverse from what the reader of his history would infer.

knew not the true catholic faith; and that he (Sir John Borthwick) had said that his faith was more excellent than the faith of all the clergy in the realm of Scotland; that he had declared that the clergy had no right to exercise jurisdiction in temporal matters; that he had recommended the king to imitate the example of the king of England, and appropriate unto himself all the possessions, lands, and revenues of the church, granted by his predecessors, and convert them to his own use; that he had often desired that the church of Scotland should be reformed in a manner similar to the church of England;* that he had declared that the canon law was contrary to the law of God; that the pope was a simoniac; that the orders of monks and friars should be abolished; that he had read heretical books, and circulated them among others; and that he had disowned the authority of the holy see. Borthwick was condemned as a heretic and seditious incendiary, his goods confiscated, and all intercourse prohibited with him under penalty of excommunication. This sentence was pronounced against him on the 28th of May, and he was burnt in effigy at the market-cross of St Andrews, and a few days afterwards at Edinburgh. Sir John Borthwick, meanwhile, was received with great favour by the English monarch, and was subsequently employed in several important transactions with the protestant princes of Germany. He

* Articles, &c. Keith, App. p. 6, 7, 8. It appears, however, from Fox, p. 1149, 1150, that Sir John Borthwick denied some of these points, connected with "the heresies of England," "because," says he, "what religion at that time was used in England, the like the whole realme of Scotland did embrace; in this point only the Englishmen differed from the Scottes, that they had cast off the yoke off antichrist, the other not. Idols were worshipped of both nations. Truly, it is most false that I had subscribed unto such heresies."

does not appear to have ever returned to his native country.

In a parliament held at Edinburgh in the beginning of the year 1541, the cardinal had the address to procure sundry enactments against heresy and the spread of the protestant doctrines, and they were so framed as to give power to the church to proceed against any individual without distinction in the most summary manner. They enforce the confiscation of the goods of all who doubt the pope's authority, or hold private conventions to dispute on the scriptures; they promise rewards to those who shall inform against conventions and heretics; and they prohibit all persons from harbouring heretics, or having any intercourse with persons summoned for or suspected of heresy. An act, however, was passed in this parliament which forms a singular contrast to those already enumerated. It was for a reformation of the church and of churchmen. It alludes to the negligence of performing divine service, "the great dishonesty of the kirk, through not making of reparation to God Almighty, to the blessed sacrament of the altar, the Virgin Mary, and to all holy saints;" and it also admits the "misrule of kirkmen, both in wit, knowledge, and manners," as the cause that "the kirk and kirkmen" are contemned and despised: and it concludes with some important and salutary injunctions, which, if they had been steadily and faithfully observed, would have materially altered the zeal of their enemies.

In the meantime the English monarch, ever anxious to destroy the French influence and the Romish power in Scotland, renewed his negotiations with James to frustrate the projects of the cardinal. After the proceed-

ings against Sir John Borthwick, the cardinal had induced the king to appoint a court of inquisition to inquire after heretics in every part of the kingdom, the object of which was to increase the royal coffers by sums of money obtained for the conviction of heretics, confiscation of their estates, and other proceedings. This was to counteract a scheme which had been proposed to James by Henry, to suppress the monasteries, and seize the estates of the clergy. The plan of that inquisition had been proposed by the clergy themselves—and it was certainly more agreeable to the religious scruples of the king—by which they persuaded him that he might add at least 100,000 crowns per annum to his revenues by annexing the estates of convicted heretics to the crown; and, lest this scheme should fail or not be productive, they voluntarily offered to grant him the half of the above sum annually out of their own revenues, with a promise of more if his necessities required. The court of inquisition was accordingly nominated, and Sir James Hamilton, an illegitimate brother of the Earl of Arran, and near relative of Patrick Hamilton who had been burnt at St Andrews, nominated as prosecutor. He did not, however, retain it long, for while himself engaged in prosecuting others, he was arrested and put to death that very year on a charge of treason. A list was also prepared, containing the names of the nobility and gentry suspected of heresy, and presented to the king, among whom the first was the Earl of Arran. The numbers in this list have been variously given, some asserting that it contained no fewer than 360 names, and others, with a greater appearance of truth, stating that it amounted only to one hundred. The story concerning

this list, as told by Knox, mentions, that when the lord treasurer presented it to James, he at the same time counselled him not to follow the advice, and that the king called some of the clergy before him, and thus addressed them on its import—"Pack, you traitors! get you to your charges, reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord between my nobility and me; or else I vow to God I shall reform you, not as the king of Denmark by imprisonment doth, nor yet as the king of England doth by hanging and beheading, but I shall reprove you with sharp punishments, if ever I hear such a motion from you again." What part the cardinal sustained in this affair does not exactly appear, and there is every reason to conclude that this language of James as quoted by Knox was never uttered. That such a list was in existence is undeniable, but public rumour only accused the cardinal of being its projector; for we find the Earl of Arran, afterwards regent, informing Sir Ralph Sadler that he was one of the number proscribed for confiscation, but he distinctly affirms, that the king himself, and not the cardinal, had caused the list to be made out. Knox farther asserts, that this list was again presented to the king before he went with his army to engage the English forces on the Border, which ended in the disastrous defeat of the Scottish army at the Solway Frith; and that it was found in the king's custody at Falkland palace immediately after his decease. But if the cardinal had been in any measure interested in that matter, he was too consummate a politician to implicate himself with men whom he knew would become his relentless enemies, and the odium of which on their part would never be forgiven nor forgotten.

Besides, as the cardinal was with the king at the time of his death, it is not to be supposed, as bishop Keith well observes, that he would allow such an important paper to "fall by or escape him, which he was sure would not fail to create him a world of trouble. To blunder in so gross a manner was no part of the cardinal's character."

The political events which occurred at this time withdrew the attention of the people from polemical discussion; but these are rather matters of general history than connected with the present narrative. James at last broke with his uncle, and the flames of discord between the two kingdoms, which had been repressed for some years, now burst forth. On whose side the hostilities began it is difficult to ascertain: James insisted that they were caused by aggressions on the part of the English, and Henry distinctly accuses his nephew of the same conduct. Be this as it may, war was declared, and James prepared to invade England by the express advice, it is alleged, of the cardinal. The fatal defeat of Solway was the consequence. Ten thousand Scots, panic struck, fled at the sight of 300 English cavalry: the Scottish nobility abandoned their sovereign, and openly despised his authority. James, who was at the castle of Caerlaverock, in Dumfries-shire, when the intelligence reached him, returned, despairing and heart-broken, first to his palace of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh, where he remained eight days, and afterwards to the palace of Falkland in Fife, the favourite hunting-seat of the Scottish monarchs. Here he shut himself up in solitude, and would allow no one to visit him but the cardinal, who hastened from St Andrews, which is about twenty miles distant, as soon as he heard of the arrival of James

at the palace. Here he found the king rapidly sinking under a fever caused by the agitation of his mind at the recollection of his disasters. His two infant sons had already fallen victims to a malignant fever which had defied all human skill, and the misfortunes of his kingdom seem to have awakened all those feelings which time had promised to alleviate and repress. While in this state, he received the intelligence that his queen had given birth to a daughter in the palace of Linlithgow. This information, instead of inspiring comfort, seemed to add to his sufferings; and exclaiming in the often quoted words, with reference to the succession of the kingdom, "It came with a girl, and it will go with a girl," he held out his hand to the cardinal and a few faithful friends who were standing round his couch, and turning his head on the pillow, immediately expired. He died on the 14th day of December 1542, in the thirty-first year of his age, leaving the crown to his daughter, Mary, then only eight days old, whose birth in misfortune was ominous of her unfortunate and chequered life and her melancholy death, and who was destined to rule over a turbulent nation at a period of all others the most important in its history, when religious disputes were to distract the whole fabric of society, and a new system of ecclesiastical polity to supplant the ancient hierarchy which had existed in magnificence for centuries.

The attendants who were with the king at his death were the Cardinal, the Earl of Argyle, the Earl of Rothes, Lords Lindsay and Erskine, Durie his physician, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Kirkaldy of Grange, Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, and Norman Leslie, eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, and styled, as the eldest sons

of Scottish peers generally were, the Master of Rothes. The most of these personages were bitter enemies of the cardinal, and some of them secretly inclined to the doctrines of the Reformation. Yet it was industriously circulated throughout the country, that the cardinal was the cause of the king's death by poison—a report which Knox and other reformers industriously revived some years afterwards, although they must have known that no event could be more fatal to the cardinal's projects, or to the interests of the church; for, amidst the distractions to which a long minority would give rise, a powerful faction would be framed, aided by the influence of the English monarch, who for mere political purposes would further the protestant doctrines, in opposition to the French interest, supported by the church. Sir James Melville, in his "Memoirs," is the only authority of any consequence who asserts that the king was poisoned by the clergy, but Sir James Balfour declares that there was no foundation for the assertion; and there can be no doubt that the event was caused by a broken heart, hastened by a complication of causes, of which the most prominent and immediate was the rout of his army at the Solway Moss. With respect to the cardinal, Sir James Melville says, that when he found the king so near his end, he desired to know how he would have the affairs of the kingdom settled, and "caused his answers to be set down and subscribed, a few moments before he fell into the agonies of death."

CHAPTER V.

THE CARDINAL'S LIFE CONTINUED—HIS PROCEEDINGS TO SUPPORT THE HIERARCHY.

THE premature death of James V. was an unexpected blow to the cardinal's political and ecclesiastical schemes, and an event which was certain to affect the stability of the Romish hierarchy. He well knew the contentions which would result in a long minority among a turbulent people, the leaders of which were proverbially inclined to jealous factions, while the efforts of the English monarch would now be more successfully directed to alienate the nation from the church. The small party of the nobility attached to the Earl of Angus were inclined to support the English interest, and one or two of them were avowedly attached to the protestant doctrines. The Earl of Arran, next heir to the crown after the infant Mary, was generally supported by the church and the lay nobility, but his partiality to the protestant doctrines was well known, and indeed he had done all but publicly declare himself a protestant. This was a circumstance of great importance to the cardinal, from which the most fatal consequences to the church might be anticipated, and which his plodding and vigorous genius was now directed to controvert.

But the cardinal was not a man who could remain long inactive in the midst of difficulties, and the nature of his situation suggested to him new projects more hazardous and daring. He formed the resolution of seizing the government during the minority of the young queen, and, secretly aided by Mary of Guise, the queen mother, who was devotedly attached to the Romish creed, and who thoroughly hated the protestant party, to conduct the affairs of the kingdom according to his own mind.

Before this project could be accomplished, the cardinal had many obstacles to overcome, but he had also many inducements to inspire him with hopes of success; and the very idea of it on his part, for he was not a man much inclined to adventurous speculation, shows the vast influence he possessed in the nation among the nobility and the people. Although the party suspected of favouring the protestant doctrines had been increasing, yet the great majority of the people were attached to the church; nor did the nobility ever contemplate, in any of their intestine strifes, the change or overthrow of the established religion. In the north of Scotland, and in the Highland districts, the tenets of the Reformation were almost unknown. The powerful chiefs and their clans were devoted to the church. Differing in their language, their manners, and their habits, they held the inhabitants of the Lowlands in contempt as men of an inferior race. The turbulent Borderers, too, cared little about protestantism; and in the Lowland counties the influence of the church was still pre-eminent, and apparently undisturbed. Some of the first offices in the state were also held by ecclesiastical dignitaries. The cardinal himself was lord chancellor; Robert Cairncross, bishop

of Ross and abbot of Holyroodhouse, lord high treasurer; John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley in Renfrewshire, afterwards archbishop of St Andrews, an illegitimate brother of the Earl of Arran, was keeper of the privy seal; David Paniter, abbot of Cambuskenneth, was secretary of state; Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, was lord president; and the abbots of Paisley, Lindores, Culross, and the prior of Pittenweem, were members of the College of Justice, or Court of Session. Many inferior offices were also occupied by the most ancient and powerful families of the kingdom.

The cardinal immediately after the king's death produced a document, which he said was the will of the king, in which the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, and Murray,* were associated with himself in the regency. These noblemen were devoted to the popish hierarchy, and, according to Buchanan, Arran, who, besides being the next heir to the crown, was the cardinal's own cousin,† was also assumed as an assessor in the regency, but from whom, on account of his indolent disposition, the cardinal expected no trouble. The production of this document raised a general clamour against him;‡ and he was openly accused of having procured the instrument by causing the king's hand to subscribe it when in his

* An illegitimate son of James IV. by Janet, daughter of John Lord Kennedy. It is doubtful, however, whether he was actually in this nomination.

† The Earl of Arran was son of James second Lord Hamilton, and first Earl of Arran, by Janet Beaton, daughter of Sir David Beaton of Criech, in Fife, comptroller of Scotland.

‡ The story told by Knox and Buchanan is, that of having hired a mercenary priest named Henry Balfour to counterfeit a will, and causing the king to transcribe it, or, at least, to subscribe a blank document, which was afterwards filled up. The cardinal is said to have guided the

last moments, and utterly insensible. Whether the cardinal actually concocted this document in the manner alleged does not appear sufficiently evident, although the Earl of Arran positively asserted to Sir Ralph Sadler that it was done in the manner now mentioned. If we consider the character of the individuals who were in Falkland Palace at the time, among whom were Sir David Lindsay, the Earl of Rothes, and Norman Leslie, the son of that nobleman, all of whom were the cardinal's deadly enemies, and the last of whom was the chief conspirator in his assassination, yet none of whom afterwards brought forward this circumstance against him, the charge must be received with caution. Nevertheless, from the cardinal's well known character, and his resolution not to scruple at any project, however daring, which he conceived to be necessary for his purposes, the report was generally believed, and has since been assumed as an historical fact. He certainly neither affirmed nor denied it himself, but posted immediately after the king's death to the queen at Linlithgow palace, who, notwithstanding her situation, was able to converse with him on public affairs. He caused himself to be proclaimed regent along with the three noblemen nominated in the above document, and the Earl of Arran; and thereafter brought the body of the king to Holyroodhouse, where it was interred in the royal vault, the cardinal himself celebrating the funeral obsequies, according to the rites of the Romish church, in presence of the leading nobility and gentry of the kingdom. But the cardinal did not long enjoy his elevated situation. The king's hand himself in this matter; but Knox says that James was actually dead when the cardinal seized his hand.

nobility attached themselves to Arran, who had roused himself from his habitual indolence; and setting aside the will of the king as a false and illegal document, he was proclaimed regent and governor of the kingdom on the 22d of December 1542. One thing, however, is certain, that whatever share the cardinal had in the matter, he found no difficulty in arranging it after Arran's accession to the regency, for, three days afterwards (on the 25th), free pardons were granted to him and the other lords for their conduct in the transaction, the cardinal having been regent of Scotland only about a week.

But on the 20th of January, 1542-3, the cardinal was suddenly arrested, and before he had time to correspond with his friends, or remonstrate against this injustice, he was carried to the castle of Blackness, on the south side of the Frith of Forth, between the Queensferry and Borrowstoness, and committed a prisoner to the care of Lord Seton. When Sir Ralph Sadler came into Scotland a few weeks afterwards, he found the cardinal a prisoner on a pretended charge of writing to the duke of Guise to bring a French army into Scotland, drive Arran from the regency, and overthrow the negotiations which were then forming between the English monarch and the ruling party in Scotland for a marriage between the young prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VI., and the infant queen Mary. For this charge Arran admitted to that able statesman that there were no proofs, nor had he any reason to conclude that it was even well founded, "but," added he, "we have other matters to charge him with, for he did forge the late king's testament; and when the king was even almost dead, he took his hand in his, and caused it to subscribe a blank

paper; and besides that, since he has been a prisoner, he has given special and secret command to his men to keep his stronghold and castle of St Andrews against us, which is plain disobedience and rebellion." Sadler observes that he aggravated these crimes as much as possible, but told Arran that he had heard that he had forgiven the cardinal for the affair of the king's testament. Arran admitted that he had done so, but denied that he had given him a legal remission for it. Sadler, however, understood the real secret of the cardinal's imprisonment, which was merely to get him out of the way of their negotiations; and he observes, in a letter to Henry, dated March 30, 1543, "I never yet could learn or hear from them, what special things they had against the cardinal when they took him."

In the meantime the imprisonment of the cardinal was attended with consequences for which Arran and his friends, in their zeal for the English alliance, were not prepared. The clergy identified the cardinal's case with themselves, and concerted an opposition in every district, which in former times had invariably been attended with important consequences. "The public services of religion," observes Mr Tytler, "were instantly suspended, the priests refused to administer the sacraments of baptism and burial, the churches were closed, a universal gloom overspread the countenances of the people, and the country presented the melancholy appearance of a land excommunicated for some awful crime. The days indeed were past when the full terrors of such a state of spiritual proscription could be felt, yet the catholic party were still strong in Scotland; they loudly exclaimed against their opponents for so daring an act of sacrilege

and injustice; and the people began in some degree to identify the cause of Beaton with the independence of the country.* The Earls of Bothwell, Huntly, and Murray, offered themselves as hostages for the cardinal, and demanded that he should be set at liberty; and the Earl of Argyle retired into his own country, with the avowed purpose of summoning his powerful clan, and holding himself in readiness for any emergency. The consequence was that the cardinal was released from Blackness castle, and was carried first to the castle of Dalkeith, and afterwards to Seton house, in Haddingtonshire, by Lord Seton, but was subsequently allowed to return to St Andrews. Being once more at liberty, he was not long in being reconciled to his cousin the regent, whom by his intrigues he gained entirely over to the French interest, aided by Mary of Guise, the queen mother, who now took an active interest in public affairs. The clergy, stimulated by the cardinal, liberally contributed towards the necessities of the state in the event of a war with England, giving up their money, their plate, and even the plate belonging to the churches; and, to conclude all, the regent, by the cardinal's management, publicly abjured the protestant faith in the church of the Franciscans at Stirling, and became, to the great mortification of the reformers, reconciled to the ancient hierarchy.†

Through all the political transactions of the cardinal it is not our purpose to follow him, these being inseparably involved with the history of that period. In all of them this consummate statesman was more than a match for

* Tytler, vol. v. p. 318.

† Arran previously to this had so openly professed the protestant doctrines, that he maintained in his family two friars, Thomas Williams and John Rough, who had renounced the Romish tenets.

The most crafty of his contemporaries; and in all of them he was eminently successful in advancing his own ambition, and the stability of the catholic church, which certainly during his life was secure. In the course of two years after the death of James, the cardinal was completely established both in the civil and ecclesiastical management of the kingdom, having acquired a decided ascendancy over Arran, whose son was committed to his care under the pretence of superintending his education, but in reality as a pledge for Arran's subserviency, and the youth was sent to the cardinal's stronghold at St Andrews. He had now time to attend to the affairs of the church, which had been considerably neglected in the multiplicity of political transactions. Having been created *legatus à latere*, which invested him with the most ample powers which could be conferred by the holy see, in some respects as complete as those exercised by the pope himself, and is the highest dignity next to the papacy, he determined to hold a diocesan visitation of the counties under his jurisdiction, for the purpose, as he alleged, of restraining the seditious spirit which had arisen during the preceding two years of intrigue and faction, but in reality to punish all the protestants he could find with the utmost severity. He accordingly set out from St Andrews in grand cavalcade, escorted by the regent Arran, the Earl of Argyle, lord justice-general, an office which was then heritable in that family, Lord Borthwick, William Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane, Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, Sir James Campbell of Lundie, and a number of gentlemen and attendants. A similar expedition had been undertaken in 1544, by the cardinal and the regent,

through the counties of Fife and Forfar, to gain over Lords Gray, Ogilvy, and Glamis, and the Earl of Rothes, to their party, who were also suspected of laxity in their religious notions, but with what success does not appear. An act had also been passed which, besides annulling all former treaties with England, set forth that, as complaints were often made to the regent of the increase of heretics, who, multiplying more and more daily in the realm, were actively disseminating opinions contrary to the true faith, all prelates should be enjoined to make inquisition within their dioceses against such persons, and to proceed against them according to the laws of the church. But in the present instance, which took place at the end of 1545, or rather in January 1545-6, the expedition assumed a most imposing aspect. The cardinal was now in the very zenith of his power and prosperity; he had gained all the advantages of ruling which he had proposed to himself when he wanted to assume the government at the death of the king, while he escaped much unpopularity, which he perhaps deserved, by Arran being the responsible governor. They proceeded by the Guard Bridge, built by Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, over the river Eden, which falls into the bay of St Andrews about four miles from that city; and, diverging towards the north-west districts of Fife, watered by the Tay, after halting at the abbeys of Lindores and Balmerino, and at the houses of several of the gentry, they arrived at the city of Perth, or St Johnston, as it was then called, and appropriately termed, from the splendour of its site, and the grandeur of the surrounding scenery, the *Fair City*. At this period, Perth was also a city

of ecclesiastics, and contained four magnificent monasteries, namely, the Dominican, or Black Friars, the Carmelite, or White Friars, the Franciscan, or Grey Friars, and the Charterhouse, or Carthusian, the most splendid of them all, besides some minor religious establishments; and all the churches and chapels of which, says Adamson in his "Muses Threnodie, or Metrical History of Perth," "had lofty steeples mounted in the air." Having arrived at the Charterhouse, the cardinal lost no time in commencing his operations. A number of persons were accused, at the instance of a friar named Spence, of breaking the act of parliament of 1542-3, which prohibited the people to argue or dispute on the sense of holy scripture. Of these, four citizens of the town, and a woman, were condemned for heresy. For the men the more expeditious punishment of hanging was ordered; and the woman, who was the wife of one of them, was condemned to be drowned in the river Tay. Over this transaction there is enveloped considerable mystery; and it is no where recorded for what particular opinions or exploits they suffered. If we are to depend on the traditional gossip recorded by Knox and Buchanan, and in the work entitled "Memorabilia of Perth," the cardinal and his associates were deeply criminal; and this crusade is evidently the most infamous of any which characterized the downfall of the hierarchy. It appears that the individuals were decent citizens,* and their names are recorded—William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Ronald, and James Finlayson; and Helen Stark, the wife of Finlayson.

* Cant's Muses Threnodie, vol. ii. p. 72.

The crime of Lamb, according to Knox and Buchanan, was interrupting an ecclesiastic during the delivery of a sermon, commenting upon some of the arguments of the preacher, and publicly denying that prayers or invocations to saints were at all necessary or essential. His three associates were prosecuted by the Franciscan Friars, who accused them of treating with ridicule an image of St Francis, by nailing the horns of a ram to its head, and dressing it in a fantastical manner to represent the devil; and of having violated the canonical injunctions respecting abstinence during Lent, or, according to Knox, of having "eaten a goose on Good Friday." The woman was accused of having declined to invoke the Virgin during her labour, declaring that she would direct her prayers to God alone in the name of Christ. The utmost exertions were made to save them, but without effect. The four men were hanged on the bridge of Perth on the 25th of January, being St Paul's day, and the cardinal is said to have witnessed the execution from a window in the Spy Tower, a building in the Earl of Gowrie's garden. The last words of Lamb contained a warning to the people against the delusions of popery and its licentious supporters, which were strongly directed against the private life of the cardinal. The woman requested that she would be permitted to die with her husband, but this favour was denied her. With a courage as remarkable as it was dignified, she addressed her unfortunate helpmate—"It matters not, dear partner; we have lived together many happy days, but this ought to be the most joyful of them all when we are about to enter upon everlasting happiness; therefore I will not bid you good night, for

ere the night shall close, we shall be united in the kingdom of heaven." She then gave an infant at her breast to her friends, and being tied hands and feet, was cast into the river. It is unnecessary to comment on this atrocious act of cruelty, in which all who composed the cardinal's party, and especially Arran, the regent, were equally guilty. Some others of the burghers suspected of heresy were banished from the city. Lord Ruthven, the provost, was deposed from his office, and John Charteris of Kinfauns, a proprietor in the neighbourhood, although by no means friendly to the cardinal, or averse to the protestant doctrines, appointed in his stead. The citizens of Perth, however, exasperated at this procedure, would not acknowledge him as provost; and although urged by the cardinal and the regent to take possession of the city by force, he was compelled to retire after a fight in which eighty of his followers were slain.

The cardinal and the regent, having thus, as they conceived, rooted heresy out of Perth, proceeded through the fertile district called the Carse of Gowrie towards Dundee, the chief town in Forfarshire, about twenty-two miles distant, which had been repeatedly denounced to them as a great resort of heretics and favourers of the Reformation. In this now flourishing sea-port, the Greek language had been early taught, and the New Testament was the text-book. But, when within a few miles of Dundee, the expedition was arrested by the approach of the Earl of Rothes and Lord Gray, two noblemen friendly to the Reformation, who had under their command a considerable number of armed retainers. This circumstance, added to the known predilection of the inhabitants of

Dundee in favour of the protestant faith, induced the cardinal to suspend his proceedings, and he prevailed on the regent to return to Perth, whether he accompanied him. Rothes and Gray followed them to that city, where by a manœuvre of the cardinal they were both arrested and lodged in prison. The Earl of Rothes, having considerable interest in Fife, and being a neighbour of the cardinal, was soon released; but Gray, of whom he was more afraid, remained in durance for some time.

Returning towards Dundee, though it does not appear he entered the town, the cardinal and his party perambulated as much of the county of Angus as they possibly could, until they arrived at Arbroath, of the magnificent abbey in which town the cardinal had been for many years superior, but which he had resigned in 1543, in favour of his nephew, James Beaton, afterwards archbishop of Glasgow, the second son of John Beaton of Balfour, his elder brother. The state of the county of Forfar, with the exception of Dundee, into which he did not wish to enter, appears to have given him satisfaction, and very few prosecutions ensued during his visit; but he succeeded in apprehending a Black Friar named John Rogers, who had been preaching the protestant doctrines throughout the country, and whom he brought with him to St Andrews. He returned with the regent to that city towards the end of January, crossing the Tay at the ferry under the castle of Broughty, and committed the Black Friar to prison in his castle. A few days afterwards the unfortunate ecclesiastic was found early in the morning lying among the rocks under the castle which are washed by the sea, his body severely bruised and mangled. It was evident that he had been precipitated

from the outer wall, and that in attempting to escape in the darkness of the night, for it was the winter season, he had fallen and broken his neck. This was the way in which the cardinal accounted for the circumstance, who seems to have troubled himself little about the matter, although his enemies circulated a report that he had caused the friar to be privately murdered, and thrown over the wall. But there was not a shadow of truth for this report. No one in the castle at the time, and the cardinal always kept a numerous household, ever contradicted his statement even after his death. He was not a man to resort to such a measure as private assassination, nor had he then any occasion, for he was in possession of the most ample power; the regent, his obsequious tool, was his guest; and the man who had been the instigator of the tragedy at Perth only a few days before, could have had no difficulty in condemning the friar publicly—a fate to which doubtless he had destined his prisoner when it suited his convenience.

The cardinal entertained the regent nearly three weeks at St Andrew's, flattering his vanity, and unfolding to him schemes for the future government of the kingdom, by which his own authority would be advanced and strengthened. They then set out together for Edinburgh. On their arrival in the metropolis, a provincial council of the clergy was summoned in the church of the Black Friars, where the cardinal presided in person, and which appears to have been numerously attended.* In

* The date of this council is uncertain. Keith says (*History*, p. 41), that it was called on the 13th January 1545-6; and it appears from an act of council respecting George Wishart, on whose history we immediately enter, that Arran was in Edinburgh on the 19th of that

his opening speech, he enforced upon the clergy the danger with which the church was threatened by the continued prevalence of heresy, many instances of which he had found in his late progress through the northern parts of his own diocese. To counteract this, he said, he only knew two remedies—the one to proceed vigorously against all those without exception who either encouraged, or were suspected to encourage, the new opinions; and the other was, to reform themselves, and by living virtuously, circumspectly, and prudently, they would thereby deprive every individual of any pretence for separating from the church. As to the former remedy, the cardinal had himself given ample proofs of his zeal in that respect; and although he had not succeeded according to his wishes, he had, apparently, reduced the people in general to their former spiritual allegiance in disaffected towns. For the latter remedy there was unquestionably great necessity; and from none in that council could the advice have been more appropriately practised than by the cardinal himself. No ecclesiastic of the age in Scotland was more notorious for his irregularities. “The name of Cardinal Beaton,” says Mr Chambers, “is associated in a way not very flattering to his memory with many of the old towers in Angus (or Forfarshire). He is well known to have had six illegitimate daughters, besides sons, almost all by different

month. Yet it is positively ascertained that the cardinal and Arran were that month in Perth, and in the county of Forfar; that the execution of the four citizens of Perth took place on St Paul's Day, Jan. 25; that on the day following, the 26th, the regent dismissed Lord Ruthven from his office as provost of the city; and it is equally certain that he and the cardinal returned together to Edinburgh, after spending a few days in St Andrews.

mothers; but the number of his mistresses would appear to have been perfectly enormous if we could trust the peasantry, who point out almost half the castles in the county as the residences of these various gentlewomen. It would appear that the cardinal, according, no doubt, to the spirit of the times, concerned himself very little about these breaches of decorum, since, in 1545, he passed to Findhaven, and there, in a style of the most ostentatious magnificence, married one of his daughters to the Master of Crawford.”*

Hitherto, whatsoever may have been the cause of alarm on the part of the church, it is certain that the protestant faith had been principally confined to some local districts in the two archiepiscopal dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow. In none of the other dioceses was there a single prosecution; and no instance is known of the bishops proceeding, or having cause to proceed, against any individual within their own jurisdiction. North of the Tay, with the exception of the Dominican friar Rogers, whom the cardinal captured during his visitation, and the town of Dundee, there was no disposition towards change; and south of that river, the cases had principally occurred in the large towns where foreigners congregated, such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, and St Andrews, in all of which places facilities were easily afforded by constant intercourse for the dissemination of the protestant doctrines. Of the few nobility and influential men who were favourable to the protestants, hardly one of them at this period understood the protestant faith; and they supported or favoured

* Chambers' Picture of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 250.

it merely to suit their own political views, from private jealousies and quarrels, which ceased as soon as a reconciliation was effected among them. It is in this way that we must account for the manner in which the prosecutions for religion were viewed, and, although they made a serious impression on those who witnessed them, were conducted at intervals for nearly thirty years, from the execution of Patrick Hamilton, without exciting any dangerous clamour.

How far the cardinal proceeded in his intended reformation, or what business was transacted at this council, it is impossible to discover. No record of the business, farther than the opening of it, is extant; and it is probable that the intelligence which he at this time received induced him to adjourn its deliberations. For it was while thus engaged, that an individual whom he well knew, whom he had often endeavoured to get into his power, and who, in fact, had for some time been a source of great disquietude to him, was at the mansion-house of Ormiston in Haddingtonshire, about twelve miles east from Edinburgh, the proprietor of which was a gentleman of ancient family named Cockburn, a suspected favourer of the protestant party. This was the celebrated George Wishart, who had been originally interdicted from teaching the Greek New Testament in Montrose by John Hepburn, bishop of Brechin, in 1538, and who had retreated into England, where he remained for some years. This individual's history is narrated more particularly in the following chapter, as it had the most fatal effect on the Romish church in Scotland. On account of the peculiar style of his preaching some serious riots had taken place in a previous year

in Dundee, when the houses of the Black and Grey Friars in that town were pillaged and destroyed, the example of which had caused a similar attempt to be made in Edinburgh, but which was successfully repressed by the authorities of that city. Since that period Wishart, having some powerful friends, had escaped from the circumventing snares laid for him by the cardinal, who, although he seemed to take little notice publicly of his movements, was in private particularly zealous in devising schemes for his apprehension. The intelligence which the cardinal now received, however, was to him of sufficient importance to break up the council. Wishart was in many respects no common enemy, and to secure him was to render the church most essential service. But the cardinal had other reasons for his anxiety to apprehend Wishart, which will subsequently appear. When he understood where Wishart was, he immediately applied to Arran for an order for his apprehension, which he only procured by giving a solemn assurance that if Wishart was taken his person would be safe. A troop of horse was immediately sent off under the command of the Earl of Bothwell, sheriff of the county, whose son exhibited that singular career of crime during the reign of Mary, the cause of misery to that unfortunate princess, and of ruin to himself, which has so inseparably connected his name with the history of that period. Cockburn's mansion was surrounded at midnight, a few hours after the family and inmates had retired to rest. Bothwell summoned Cockburn to surrender, or to give up Wishart, which he at first refused to do; but on being informed that resistance was of no use, the cardinal and the regent

being only a mile distant, at the head of five hundred men, he was obliged to comply. This was indeed the fact, for the cardinal and the regent had immediately followed Bothwell with the above number of soldiers, blocking up every avenue, and cutting off all chance of Wishart's escape. The clash of the arms, and the noise occasioned in the court-yard of the mansion, awoke Wishart, who immediately suspecting the cause, and knowing that resistance was hopeless, delivered himself up on a solemn assurance being given by Bothwell, who pledged his faith to Cockburn that he would stand by him, and see that his life and person would be safe. Wishart was conveyed that night to Elphinstone, a baronial tower nearly three miles distant, where the cardinal and the regent remained for the night. Here he was treated as a prisoner, but he was still under the protection of Bothwell, who insisted on keeping his promise to the laird of Ormiston. Wishart was then carried by Bothwell to his castle called Hailes in the neighbourhood; but by the persuasion of the queen mother, he was removed to the castle of Edinburgh, an act of council having been passed ordering Bothwell to deliver him to the regent. This manifest violation of his promise on the part of Bothwell, which was effected by the bribes and promises of the cardinal and the queen mother, was equal to his placing Wishart in the cardinal's hands; and he was soon transferred from the castle of Edinburgh to the custody of the latter, who, with a choice band of armed retainers, carried him instantly to St Andrews, and committed him to the prison of the castle, in that part of it which was deemed the most secure, the Sea Tower.

Having thus obtained possession of a man whom he had long privately circumvented and pursued, the cardinal lost no time in making the necessary preparations for the vengeance he intended. He wrote to the archbishop of Glasgow and other prelates, announcing his intention to hold an ecclesiastical council at St Andrews for the trial of this distinguished heretic, as Wishart was styled, and disturber of the church; and he appointed the said council to be held in the metropolitan church of St Andrews on the 27th of that very month (February), and only a few days after Wishart had been apprehended. But it is necessary to narrate some circumstances in the life of Wishart, which will sufficiently explain the cardinal's conduct, both on public and private grounds, in this important transaction, which excited the utmost consternation, and which was the more remarkable on account of the fate of the cardinal, which almost immediately followed.

CHAPTER VI.

GEORGE WISHART THE MARTYR.

GEORGE WISHART, the most celebrated of the Scottish sufferers for the protestant doctrines, and for whom the cardinal had long searched, was a son of James Wishart of Pitarrow, in the parish of Fordoun in the county of Kincardine, who was justice-clerk of Scotland from 1513 to 1524. Of his early history little is known with certainty. His family were ancient and respectable, and we find one of them, William Wishart, bishop of St Andrews and primate of Scotland from 1272 to 1279. Having become acquainted in his youth with John Erskine of Dun, the provost or chief magistrate of Montrose, he repaired to that town, and publicly taught the Greek language, which he had probably acquired under the auspices of Erskine, who was an early encourager of Greek literature in Scotland. In the year 1538, however, Hepburn, bishop of Brechin, threatened him with a prosecution for teaching the Greek Testament, and he was forced to leave Montrose. The cardinal is said to have prompted bishop Hepburn to interdict Wishart on this occasion, and perhaps with truth, he being then abbot of Arbroath, which is only eleven miles distant from Montrose. Wishart retreated into England, and, after a variety of adventures, found his way to

Bristol, where, having preached against the adoration of the Virgin, invocation of saints, and other topics of a similar nature, he was apprehended and condemned for heresy, but he publicly recanted in St Nicholas' church in that city. Nothing is known of him afterwards until 1543, when he was at Cambridge, residing in Corpus Christi College in that university. His appearance and manners while there are minutely described in a letter written by a person named Tylney, who had been one of his pupils at Cambridge, and transmitted by that individual to Fox the martyrologist. He is said to have been a man of "tall stature, bald-headed, of a melancholy countenance, black-haired, long-bearded, well spoken of after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled." He is farther described as having been "modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness," abstemious and ascetic in his manners; inuring himself to many hardships and privations; fearless, and honest in his exhortations to his pupils, which occasionally exposed him to danger, yet respected for his learning, his mildness, and the decorum of his deportment.

Conjectures have been often made whether Wishart was actually in holy orders, or whether, if a layman, he adopted the resolution of preaching from an enthusiastic conviction of the necessity of opposing the superstitions of the Romish church. Whether he had procured ordination in England, for it is certain he never did so in Scotland, it is impossible to ascertain; but he was accused as a layman at his trial for heresy. If he was in holy orders, his intrigues and plottings with the cardinal's enemies for his destruction were singularly at

variance with his profession; and as it was, the conduct of this amiable individual is divested of much of that magnanimity which has been generally awarded him.* Our own opinion is that Wishart was a layman, but the matter is of little importance. How he employed himself at Cambridge, while he resided there, or during the five years of his abode in England, except when he was at Bristol, is also unknown; but it is clear that he was in correspondence with some of Beaton's enemies in Scotland, who were negotiating with Henry VIII. to assassinate one whose genius formed an invincible obstacle to the plans of the English monarch, and to the success of the protestant doctrines. It appears that Wishart was in Scotland early in the year 1543, although no mention is made of him at this period as a preacher. This was about the time when the cardinal was in custody, or at least in disgrace, on the pretended charge of a treasonable correspondence with France to overthrow the regency of Arran. The coalition and reconciliation between the cardinal and the regent,

* In an anonymous and juvenile little work which I formerly published, entitled the "Life of George Wishart of Pitarrow the Martyr," and written with more zeal than discretion, I maintained that Wishart had no concern with the intrigues carried on by the minions of Henry VIII. in Scotland against the life of the cardinal. The question has been often agitated, but it appears to me to be finally settled by Mr Tytler, who, in the fifth volume of his History of Scotland (1835), has brought forth the most ample evidence to prove that Wishart was in the plot. I have, of course, after a careful perusal of this and other facts, altered my opinion, but it must be admitted that considerable mystery still envelopes the whole matter. There could not, however, be two Wisharts at the same time in Scotland whose actions were so similar, and there can be no doubt, from his continually associating with the conspirators against the cardinal's life, and being often in their company, that the *Mr Wishart* so prominently mentioned in the English despatches of that period, and George Wishart the future martyr, referred to the same individual.

which soon afterwards followed, and the abjuration of the protestant cause by the latter, having frustrated the intrigues carried on by Sir Ralph Sadler with the Earls of Cassillis, Glencairn, and others, to cut off the cardinal, that ambassador employed a gentleman named Crichton, laird of Brunstone, a baronial mansion about four miles from Edinburgh, in the parish of Duddingstone, as a spy upon the movements of the cardinal and the regent, and who was now the agent in a new plot, in which Kirkaldy of Grange, Leslie, eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, and Charteris of Kinfauns, proposed either to murder or apprehend the cardinal, if they were properly supported and rewarded by Henry.* Crichton, or Brunstone, as he is more frequently termed from his territorial designation, who concealed under the mask of religious hypocrisy a disposition most ferocious, unprincipled, and revengeful, and who, in 1539, had been confidential steward or agent of the cardinal, by associating with the enemies of that prelate and those who were inclining towards the protestant doctrines, to which he pretended to be a convert, became acquainted with Wishart, whom, on the 17th of April 1543, he sent to the Earl of Hertford, then at Newcastle at the head of the English army, with a letter detailing the particulars of the proposed conspiracy. After an interview with the English commander, who had thus far advanced with his army to invade Scotland, Wishart was entrusted with a despatch to Henry himself, signed by the Earl of Hertford, the bishops of Durham and Llandaff, and Sir Ralph Sadler, carrying with him

* Despatch to Henry VIII. *apud* Tytler, vol. v. p. 456, 457.

Brunstone's letter, containing the proposal of Kirkaldy, Leslie, and Charteris, to slay or apprehend the cardinal, as he "shall passe throughe the Fyf lande, as he doth sundrye times, to Sanct Andrewes, and in case they can so apprehende hym, will delyver him unto your majestie." The letter also contained another proposal from those individuals:—"In cace your maj.," says Hertford to the king, "wolde grant unto them a convenient enter-tenement for to kepe 15 or 16 men in wages for a moneth or two, they, joyning with power of th' Erll Marshall, the said Erl of Rothes, the Larde of Calder, and others of the Lord Gray's friends, will tak upon them at such tyme as your maj. armye shal be in Scotlande, to destroy the abbey and town of Arbroyth, being the cardnall's, and all the other bishops and abbots' houses and countreys on that side of the water."* Wishart, in an interview with Henry VIII. at London, whom he found exasperated against the cardinal, whose destruction, we have seen, he had long contemplated, detailed the whole circumstances to that monarch to his great satisfaction; and he promised to the conspirators the most ample protection, should they be compelled to take refuge in England. "But Beaton," observes Mr Tytler, "had either received secret information of the project for his destruction, or the design was for the present interrupted by some unforeseen occurrence. Succeeding events, however, demonstrated that it was delayed only, not abandoned, and that the same unscrupulous agents who

* This is the famous letter, the existence of which, so long denied, but the original of which is in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton, completely establishes the fact of Wishart being an agent in the business. While the existence of the letter was denied, the innocence of Wishart was beyond dispute; but the evidence is now indisputable.

now intrigued with the English monarch were at last induced by Henry to accomplish their atrocious purpose."

Wishart returned to Scotland about the latter end of July 1543, with the commissioners who had been sent to negotiate the marriage between the prince of Wales, then about five years of age, afterwards Edward VI., and the infant Scottish queen. The commissioners on the part of Scotland were the Earl of Glencairn and Sir George Douglas, a brother of the Earl of Angus, who were empowered to act along with Sir James Learmonth of Balcomie, Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar, and Henry Balnaves of Halhill, who had been sent to London on the preceding year for a similar purpose. To all the commissioners Wishart was personally known, and three of them at least, Glencairn, who was afterwards in the plot to murder the cardinal, Douglas and Balnaves, were attached to the English interest and the protestant cause. On his return to Scotland, therefore, he was protected by their influence; and up to the day of his apprehension by the cardinal, he was usually attended by one or more of the party attached to the protestant interest. It is impossible to ascertain what information the cardinal possessed respecting Wishart previous to this period: but it is certain that he was well aware of the agency of the martyr in the conspiracies against his life.

After his arrival in Scotland, however, Wishart adopted a course which soon brought him under the cardinal's notice. Under the protection of the Earl Marischal, he commenced to preach against the Romish hierarchy at Montrose, and his remarkable and fervid eloquence

attracted large audiences, and made a deep impression. In that district his family were well known, and the powerful influence of Erskine of Dun was exercised to protect him. From Montrose he proceeded to Dundee, which continued for some time the favourite scene of his labours. In this town his preaching caused a serious riot; and it is evident, from a letter written by the English agent dated 4th September 1543, that Henry had secretly influenced the Earls Marischal, Glencairn, and others of that party who were leagued against the cardinal, to encourage Wishart in this public attack on the established religion, in the hope of increasing the internal distractions of the country. "The work of reformation," says the writer, "had begun at Dundee (occasioned by Wishart's sermon), by destroying the houses of the Black and Grey Friars, and afterwards the abbey of Lindores had been sacked by a company of good Christians, who turned the monks out of doors. A similar attempt had been made on the Black Friars at Edinburgh, by the captains of the foot soldiers and their retinue who were in the pay of the governor (Arran), while he was absent; but the inhabitants, both men and women, assembled in defence of the Friars, and drove the captains and their soldiers out of the town."* This riot at Dundee, however, induced the authorities of that town to interfere, probably dreading the vengeance of the powerful cardinal, St Andrews being only thirteen miles distant, on the other side of the Tay. They informed Wishart that he would not be allowed in future to address the people; and, being forced to leave the town, he took the opportunity to warn

* Hamilton Archives, Chalmers' Life of Queen Mary, vol. ii. p. 403.

them of the danger of rejecting the true gospel, while he also testified the peaceable nature of his own intentions. We find him next at Perth, where, however, he did not long remain; and proceeding to the west of Scotland, he arrived in the town of Ayr, the capital of that county, under the protection of the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn. Having found the parish church occupied by Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, who had proceeded from that city to apprehend him, but from whom he was delivered by the Earl of Glencairn, he took his station at the market-cross of the town, and made, says Knox, "such a notable sermon, that the very enemies themselves were confounded." Making a tour through various parishes in the county, in which he was attended by a number of individuals, we find him addressing multitudes in the parishes of Galston and Barr, and afterwards at the town or village of Mauchline, in which there was a religious establishment belonging to the abbey of Melrose. The sheriff of Ayr interdicted the use of the church, "causing to man the church," says Knox, "for preservation of a fabric that was then beautiful to the eye." He was advised to take possession of it by force, but this he positively refused to do, observing, "Christ Jesus is as mighty in the fields as in the church, and I find that he himself, after he preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and at other places then judged profane, did so in the temple at Jerusalem."* In this quarter he remained for some time, and his exhortations and discourses produced a deep

* It is curious to observe that Wishart, and subsequently he was imitated by Knox, often took possession of the parish churches without the permission of the legal proprietors. This conduct, which was

impression on the minds not only of the rustic people of that district, but also on many persons of education who attended him.

While thus engaged in the western districts of Scotland, intelligence reached Wishart that a pestilence raged with great fury in Dundee. Thither he immediately repaired, after making some arrangements with his friends in Ayrshire, and he arrived at a time when all the infected inhabitants were expelled from the town on account of the alarming mortality. It is singular that he had a partiality for a district of country which was completely under the cardinal's controul, but his zeal seemed to have completely absorbed all considerations of a personal nature. Not being allowed to enter the town on account of exposing himself to the infection of the disease by visiting the sick, he ascended to the top of the Cowgate-port gate, which out of veneration to his memory is still preserved, and which is the last memorial of the battlements of Dundee, and he preached from the passage of Scripture, "He sent his word and healed them." This sermon, which appears from traditionary report to have been the most remarkable he ever delivered, was calculated, considering the place and circumstances, to make a deep impression on the people. The gate was shut, but from his elevated position on the top of the arch, he addressed the uninfected within the gate, and the diseased who lay without it on pallets in the street. His conduct on this occasion greatly endeared him to the inhabitants. While thus engaged, on one occasion,

any thing but courteous, could not fail to irritate the ancient ecclesiastics, whose buildings were thus made the scenes of abuse and ridicule against themselves.

after concluding a sermon, as he descended from his elevated position, a disguised priest was stationed for the purpose of assassinating him. Wishart, who from the man's appearance suspected danger, and who had probably perceived a part of the deadly weapon concealed under the friar's mantle, immediately seized his hand, and accused him of his intention. The priest, thus suddenly challenged, fell on his knees, and acknowledged his guilt. The enraged audience were on the point of sacrificing him to their vengeance, but Wishart grasped him in his arms, exclaiming, "Whoever troubles him shall trouble me; for he hath hurt me in nothing, but he hath done great comfort to you and me, for he hath given us to understand what we may fear. In time to come we will watch better."

The cardinal who was accused, though there is no other authority for it than conjecture, of suborning the priest to this act, now used every possible exertion to apprehend Wishart; but the manner in which he was attended bade defiance to all his plans. After the attempt at Dundee, he never appeared in public without a two-handed sword carried before him, nor did he ever preach without a strong guard of armed retainers, commanded by some friendly baron. After the cessation of the plague in Dundee, Wishart returned to Montrose, where he occasionally preached under the protection of the Earl Marischal and Erskine of Dun; but according to Knox, he employed his time chiefly in "private meditation." He revisited Dundee, towards the end of the year, and then proceeded by Perth, and through Fife, to Edinburgh, to meet the Earls of Glencairn and Cassillis, and some gentlemen from Ayrshire, according to the

arrangement he had made when in that county. The object of this meeting is not accurately known, but it was given out by them that they intended to use their influence with the government that a public disputation on religious matters between Wishart and the bishops should take place. Be this as it may, the meeting was to be composed of the most active conspirators against the cardinal—Glencairn, Cassillis, the lairds of Brunstone, Ormiston, and Langniddry, Norman Leslie, and others, who were all engaged in the plot by Henry VIII., who were in fact in the pay of that monarch, and who had kept up a constant correspondence with Wishart during his residence in Dundee and Montrose. It was his knowledge of this plan and scheme, of all the secret contrivances of the English monarch, and the contemplated invasion of Scotland, the manner of which was by this time known to the party, that made the people interpret Wishart's denunciations of coming vengeance as actual prophecies. Many of these intimations were remembered after his death by his followers, which induced them in that credulous age to view him as a prophet. An apostrophe which he made at a village named Invergowrie, about four miles from Dundee, respecting the spread of the protestant religion in Scotland, was often referred to as a proof of his endowment in that capacity; and modern writers have not been wanting to maintain that he actually possessed this imaginary gift, although in many of his allusions to the future nothing can be discovered beyond the sanguine expectations of a devoted and enthusiastic mind, who well knew the ecclesiastical and political condition of the country. "He enjoyed, it is to be remembered," says Mr Tytler, "the confidential intimacy, nay, we have

reason to believe that his counsels influenced the conduct, of Glencairn, Cassillis, Brunstone, and the party who were now the advisers of Henry's intended hostilities—a circumstance which will perfectly account for the obscure warnings of the preacher, without endowing him with inspiration. He continued his denunciations of the Romish superstitions, and inveighed with so much eloquence against the corrupt lives of the churchmen, that incurring the extreme odium of Beaton, he is said to have twice escaped plots which that unscrupulous prelate laid for his life.* It was during this interval (from 1543 to 1545-6) that Henry VIII. encouraged Brunstone, Cassillis, Glencairn, and others, to assassinate his enemy the cardinal. Of the existence of the plot against his life Beaton was to a certain extent aware; and looking with suspicion on Wishart, not only as a disseminator of forbidden doctrines, but the friend of his most mortal enemies, he earnestly laboured to apprehend him. Of all this the future martyr was so well advised, that he repeatedly alluded to his approaching fate."†

Wishart, obedient to the summons of his Ayrshire friends, travelled to Edinburgh, and took up his abode in Leith, the seaport of that city, probably on account of the facility there afforded him of effecting his escape

* The one attempt has been alluded to in the affair of the priest at Dundee. The other was an effort to apprehend him, by drawing him from Montrose by a pretended letter from one of his friends. On that occasion, it is said, Wishart actually set out, but perceiving some suspicious indications on the road, he returned with his attendants to the town, and thereby eluded sixty horsemen who were lying in wait to apprehend him. This transaction has been denied, but there is no reason to doubt its truth, or that it was not one of the cardinal's schemes, to get him into his power.

† Tytler, vol. v. p. 415, 416.

by sea if threatened with danger. To his disappointment, however, Glencairn and Cassillis with their followers did not arrive, and Brunstone and the other confederates could not act without them. Having exercised his vocation of preaching on a few occasions to the refugees of that seaport, he began to "wax sorrowful in spirit" at his life of inactivity, and at the failure of his friends in their attendance; and learning that the cardinal and the regent were shortly expected in the metropolis, he removed into the neighbouring county for greater security, and resided at the houses of Brunstone, Ormiston, and Langniddry, all within a short ride of Edinburgh, where he could receive immediate notice of their arrival. While there, he preached in the parishes of Inveresk, better known by the name of Musselburgh, from the ancient town of that name being situated in it, and Tranent; and during the holidays of Christmas he proceeded to Haddington. In that town he remained several days, and also preached some sermons, but with mortified feelings of disappointment at the non-appearance of his friends, and the apparent apathy of his hearers. In his last sermon at Haddington, which was also the last he ever delivered, he thus gave utterance to the bitterness of his feelings, occasioned by the disappointment of his friends, and the falling away of his audience:—"O Lord, how long shall it be that thy holy word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their eternal salvation? I have heard of thee (Haddington), that in thee would have been at any rare exhibition two or three thousand people; and now, to hear the message of the eternal God, of all the town and parish cannot be numbered one hundred persons. Sore and fearful shall

the plagues be that shall ensue upon this thy contempt; with fire and sword shalt thou be plagued." He then proceeded to describe the calamities with which the town would be visited, and which, having been almost literally fulfilled a short time afterwards, confirmed his followers in the opinion that he was a prophet. But Wishart knew well that the intended invasion under the Earl of Hertford was at that time in active preparation; and he knew also that Henry had determined upon a visitation of fire and sword in the southern counties of Scotland. In thus describing the horrors of war about to ensue, and from which he knew the rich and populous town of Haddington would not escape, he merely described such incidents as from his own private knowledge would characterise the march of the English army, but which, from the fact of this meditated invasion being completely unknown to the people, and indeed to the most influential persons in the kingdom, was readily ascribed to prophetic inspiration.

Having thus concluded his public addresses in Haddington, and disappointed by Cassillis and the gentlemen of Ayrshire, who, probably alarmed by the recent severities in Perth, had forwarded a letter to him, stating that on account of the movements of the cardinal the intended meeting could not be held; and perceiving that his congregations were continually diminishing, he left that town, and returned to the mansion-house of Ormiston, seven miles nearer Edinburgh, with his friend Cockburn the proprietor. The celebrated John Knox, at this time more than forty years of age, was with him, and this is the first occasion on which that individual, who afterwards occupied such a prominent position in

the ecclesiastical and political transactions of the age, is mentioned as appearing in public life. He was then tutor or preceptor in the family of Douglas of Langniddry, whose residence was the mansion-house of that name in the parish of Tranent, and in his native county of Haddington. Compelled to leave the university of St Andrews, at which he had been educated, on account of his protestant tendencies, and deprived of his ecclesiastical functions, he had been excommunicated as a heretic, and the usual sentence pronounced against him. Theodore Beza declares that he would have fallen a sacrifice to the snares of the cardinal had he not been received into the family of Langniddry, and protected by Douglas, the laird or proprietor. This information was probably communicated by Knox himself when he was at Geneva, who may have reasoned himself into this conviction; but the cardinal knew little of him at this time, and although he had been duly and canonically ordained, he does not appear to have preached even one sermon. It is evident from his own admission, that, after his expulsion from the university and excommunication by the Romish church, his opinions were very unsettled, even at an age in which the enthusiasm of youth must have subsided. But while residing with Douglas of Langniddry he fully embraced the protestant doctrines by the instructions of one Guillian or Williams, a native of the neighbouring parish of Athelstaneford, a Dominican friar of some eminence in that order, who having turned protestant, had been employed by the regent Arran as one of his domestic preachers before his reconciliation with the cardinal, and his recantation of the protestant cause at Stirling.

Williams, it appears, after that event retired to England, and his future life is unknown. Knox had become acquainted with Wishart, who was about his own age, by meeting him in the houses of the neighbouring gentlemen attached to the protestant cause, and especially at Ormiston, the young heir of which was also one of his pupils at Langniddry. Having heard that the future martyr was at Leith, he hastened to meet him soon after his arrival, and remained with him from that time until he left Haddington in the manner above narrated. He attended Wishart in the singular and somewhat eccentric capacity of sword-bearer, carrying the double-handed sword before the preacher, which had been invariably exhibited in public as an ominous sign of determined resistance on the part of the protestants after the attempt to assassinate him in Dundee. Knox was anxious to accompany Wishart to Ormiston on the day in question, but the martyr would not allow him. Having a strong presentiment of what was to befall him, feeling himself betrayed by his friends, and left completely exposed to the cardinal's vengeance, in the conspiracy against whom, if he was not an active agent, he was at least deeply involved, and, according to the Scottish law, *particeps criminis*, or *art and part*, he took an affectionate farewell of Knox, and relieved him from his office of sword-bearer, ordering the sword to be taken from him.—“Go back to your bairnes” (pupils or children), said Wishart; “God bless you: one sacrifice is enough at this time.” Knox returned with his patron Douglas to Langniddry, and Wishart proceeded to Ormiston, attended by Cockburn, Crichton of Brunstone, and Sandilands of Calder.

This was the night on which Wishart was apprehended, and the manner in which he spent it previous to the arrival of Bothwell, followed by the cardinal and the regent, was solemn and affecting. After supper, before retiring to rest, he addressed a short discourse to the guests and the family, and concluded by singing an old metrical version of the 51st Psalm. Some hours afterwards, about midnight, the trampling of horses was heard, and Bothwell surrounded the house, and summoned Cockburn to surrender. These circumstances we have already narrated. After Wishart had been carried from Ormiston to Elphinstone Tower, the cardinal dispatched another party to secure Cockburn, Crichton of Brunstone, and Sandilands of Calder, whom he knew, and especially Brunstone, to be his inveterate enemies. Brunstone, however, escaped to the woods of Ormiston, but Cockburn and Sandilands were seized, and sent to the castle of Edinburgh, in which fortress they remained for some time.

It is evident that in all this affair Wishart's friends were deeply blameable. It was by their advice and appointment that he had thus exposed himself to be captured by the cardinal, who knew well their conspiracies against him for the last four or five years. Without making a single effort to save Wishart, the only one of them, on the affair of heresy, against whom the cardinal would proceed, they heard of his capture with an indifference which nothing could justify but their inability to do him any service. By what means the cardinal frustrated their proposed meeting we cannot discover; but they at least ought to have duly warned Wishart of the abandonment of their enterprise, before he had placed

himself in a situation from which it was impossible to escape. For Bothwell's duplicity in the business the popular credulity of the times believed him to have been severely punished. "Fra that tyme forth," observes Lindsay in his *Chronicles*, "the Earle of Bothwell threave nevir weill, nor none of his affairs prospered with him."* This quaint writer also declares that a similar fatality attended the earl of Argyle, who formed one of the cardinal's party in his expedition to Perth, and who had presided in his capacity of lord justice-general in the condemnation of the persons put to death in the "fair city" for heresy.

* Lindsay, vol. ii. p. 452, 453.

CHAPTER VII.

DEATH OF GEORGE WISHART OF PITARROW THE MARTYR,
AND MURDER OF THE CARDINAL.

ON the last day of February, 1545-6, the Scottish prelates and other dignitaries, in obedience to the requisition of their metropolitan, attended at St Andrews. The archbishop of Glasgow, immediately after his arrival, suggested to the cardinal the propriety of having a legal sanction to their proceedings, and he dispatched a messenger to the regent at Edinburgh for a warrant. Arran was at first inclined to comply with his request, but Sir David Hamilton of Preston so effectually remonstrated with him, shewing him the inconsistency of prosecuting individuals for maintaining opinions which he had himself professed, the folly of incurring odium for what did not concern him or his affairs, and thinking that this was only a scheme of the cardinal's to involve him, that, instead of granting the legal commission requested, he wrote to the cardinal, informing him, "that he would do well not to hasten the trial of Wishart, but delay it until he came himself to St Andrews, for, as to himself, he would not consent to his death before the case was well examined; and if he (the cardinal) should act otherwise, he would make protestation that the blood of the prisoner would be required at his hands." The cardinal, angry at the scruples of Arran, more

especially after the part he had taken in Wishart's apprehension, and imagining that by delay his prisoner might find influence powerful enough to obtain his liberty, returned an answer to the regent, in which, alluding to the spiritual authority which he possessed as *legatus à latere*, he observed, "that he had not written to him about this matter as if he supposed that he was dependant upon his (Arran's) authority, but from a desire that the prosecution and conviction of heretics might have the sanction of the law; but since he could not obtain this, he would proceed in the manner which appeared to him the most expedient." He accordingly ordered the trial to proceed—a circumstance which was afterwards the occasion of much popular indignation against him.

On the last day of February, therefore, Wishart was brought into the cathedral church, where the cardinal and the other prelates assembled. A sermon was preached by John Winram, subprior of the abbey or priory, an ecclesiastic who afterwards became a protestant, on the nature of heresy, which, from the transmitted accounts of it, appears to have displayed much ability, moderation, and argument; maintaining, nevertheless, that heresy ought to be opposed by the church and the state, and that those who were guilty of it might be lawfully put to death. The proceedings of the court now commenced, and eighteen articles of heresy were preferred against Wishart, who was placed in the pulpit before the assembly. The prosecution was conducted by John Lauder, official of Lothian, whom we have previously found employed in a similar manner. If the accounts of the proceedings, imperfect though they are, be any thing like fair representations of the trial, it appears that little

dignity was displayed by the prosecutor in his examination of the prisoner. Wishart was incessantly termed "false runagate, traitor, heretic, thief," to which he invariably replied with the utmost mildness, fortitude, and calmness. At the opening of the proceedings, before the articles were read, he denied many of the opinions of which rumour had accused him, declaring that his sentiments had been misrepresented, and that, since his coming into Scotland, he had taught chiefly the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, in the mother tongue. He was proceeding to give an account of his sermons in Dundee and other places, when he was accused of usurping the clerical function without having any authority or ordination. This he admitted, but he wished to be judged in a lawful manner. Lauder asked, if "my lord cardinal, the second person in Scotland, chancellor of the kingdom, archbishop and primate, bishop of Mirepoix, abbot of Aberbrothwick, *legatus natus, legatus à latere*," &c. was not a sufficient judge. He replied that he refused not "my lord cardinal, but," added he, "I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate, and some of your lordships my auditors, because I am here my lord governor's prisoner." This protest against his authority appears to have irritated the cardinal extremely, and he would probably have then condemned him, had not the other prelates interfered, who, anxious to avoid the appearance of irregularity, persuaded the primate to allow the trial to proceed.

It is unnecessary to insert the articles of heresy alleged against Wishart. Some of them he admitted, others he qualified, and offered to explain his own views of them. They generally consisted of all those points

which formed the controversy between the church of Rome and the protestants. Yet some of them were not a little ludicrous in their application. He was accused of saying that a priest saying mass at the altar was like a fox wagging his tail in July. To this he replied, that his meaning was, that the outward motion of the body, without the inward motion of the heart, was similar to the motion of an ape, and not the true service of God. He was farther accused of saying that holy water was not so good as wash—that he would not obey general and provincial councils—that it was vanity to build costly churches—that fasting was unnecessary—and of affirming that the soul sleeps until the last judgment. To all these accusations he either gave a qualified explanation or a denial. He maintained his right to preach, notwithstanding his being a layman, alleging that any individual, with a competent knowledge of the scriptures, might be a teacher of the gospel. He defended many points of his creed with singular boldness, and did not hesitate to describe the doctrines of his opponents as pestilential, blasphemous, and proceeding from the devil. He was accordingly found guilty of heresy, and condemned to be burnt at the stake. He heard his sentence without emotion. Falling on his knees, he repeated audibly a short prayer, the purport of which was an invocation of divine judgment on his accusers and for the protection of true religion, after which he was conducted back to his prison in the Sea Tower of the cardinal's castle.

During the interval between the sentence and the execution, which was to take place on the following day (March 1st), Wishart was waited upon by two priests

sent by the cardinal to hear his confession. He refused their assistance, but earnestly requested to see Winram the subprior, who had preached the opening sermon. Winram was allowed to visit him, and, after some conversation, asked him if he wished to receive the sacrament. "Gladly," replied Wishart, "if I might have it according to Christ's institution." The subprior communicated his request to the cardinal, and added some suggestions of his own in the hope of inducing him to consent. But this the cardinal resolutely refused, and indeed had issued an order in the city that no prayers or intercessions should be made for such an obstinate heretic. The subprior having pressed the matter, the cardinal abruptly said to him, "Well, well, Sir, we knew you, and what you are, seven years since. It is not now time to make purgation."* The subprior communicated the result of his application to Wishart, who received it unmoved, and taking leave of him prepared himself for his fate.

On the following day, about noon, Wishart was led into the apartments of the keeper of the prison, who inquired if he would partake of some refreshment with his family. "With good will," he replied, "for I am better content to eat with you this day than I ever could be before, for I know you to be a good, an honest, and a godly man, and this will be my last repast." Exhorting the jailor and his family to sit down, bread and wine were placed upon the table, of which, after a short discourse on the death of Christ, and a benediction, he first partook himself, and then gave it to the jailor and

* Lindsay's Chronicles, vol. ii. p. 476.

his attendants, exactly similar to the manner practised in the presbyterian church of administering the communion. This action has been severely commented upon as a most unwarrantable consecration of the eucharist by a layman; but although it has certainly an approximation to such an act, and although Wishart *may* have so intended it himself, we do not look upon it in that light. It appears rather to have been a peculiar mode which he adopted to characterize his last repast on earth; for we are told that immediately after he concluded it, referring to the passage in the gospel where our Saviour says that he would drink no water in this world, "he said the grace, and thanked God, and thairefter past to his chamber, and thair continewed at his contemplatiounes and prayeris, quhill the cardinall and bischoppis had done with thair daineris."*

The execution was ordered to take place in front of the cardinal's castle, near the west end of the cathedral church, and the spot is still pointed out by tradition. There a scaffold was erected, having a high stake firmly fixed in the centre, and the bundles of combustibles placed around it. Fearing a rescue, the cardinal had ordered all the cannon of his castle to be prepared, and his retainers stood on the ramparts ready to discharge them on the slightest interruption. Wishart beheld all the apparatus of death without emotion. He approached the stake with firmness and christian courage. He made a short address to the people, in which he declared that he freely forgave all his enemies, not excepting his judges, and kneeling down, repeated thrice the following

* Lindsay's Chronicles, vol. ii. p. 478.

words:—"O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me. Father of heaven, into thy hands I commit my spirit." The martyr was then fastened to the stake, and being first strangled by a rope pulled from behind, his body was reduced to ashes.*

It has been said that the cardinal and other prelates witnessed this cruel tragedy from a window in the castle, into which cushions had been placed for their accommodation, and that Wishart uttered a prophecy concerning his death, which was so soon verified. The account given by Buchanan, which is followed by Knox, archbishop Spottiswood, Petrie, and other writers, is to this effect:—"The windows and balconies of the castle, over against the scaffold, were all hung with tapestry and rich silk hangings, with cushions for the cardinal and his train, to behold and to take pleasure in the joyful sight, even the torture of an innocent man. The captain of the castle, who stood so near that he was singed with

* Lindsay of Pitcottie has the following curious passage in his *Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 481:—"They laid the fire to him, and gave him the first blast of powder, quhilk was verrie terrible and odious to see, for there cam so great ane thud of wind out of the sea, and so great ane cloud of raine out of the heavenes, that when the wind and weitt mett togidder, it had sick noyse and sound, that all men war affrayed that herd or saw it. It had sick (such) force and strenth, that it blew down the stone wallis, and the men that satt thairon, to the number of two hundreth persones, quhilkis fell in the bishoppis yaird, about the draw well thair of, and so manie of thame fell thairin, that twa of thame drowned immediatlie, and so thair was sacrifice both of fyre and watter." This quaint writer then inserts the prophecy subsequently alluded to in the text, in which he appears to have been a firm believer, and proceeds—"With that they pulled the tow, and latt him speak no more; bot boldenit the gryt fyre about him, and when he was brunt all from the waist down, they bad him remember on God, and make ane syne thair of; to that token he lap up ane fute of hight in the fire, quhilk was ane great rejoycing to thame that favoured Godis word."

the flames, exhorted him (Wishart), in a few words, to be of good cheer, and to ask pardon of God for his offences. To which he replied, This flame occasions trouble to my body indeed, but it hath in nowise broken my spirit. But he who now so proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place (pointing to the cardinal), shall in a few days be as ignominiously thrown down as now he proudly lolls at his ease.* This is the account given by the cardinal's professed enemy, and who, if he did not invent it, has at least the credit of being the first propagator of a story which has gained additional credit by traditionary credulity. Whether the cardinal actually beheld the execution or not, although it has been commonly asserted that he did, is a matter of great doubt. The story is not to be found in the first edition of Knox's History, who was then resident at Langniddry in Haddingtonshire, and in which some exultations respecting the cardinal's death, suppressed in subsequent editions, appeared. Sir David Lindsay, who was a contemporary and near neighbour of the cardinal, who thoroughly hated him, and who was personally acquainted with Wishart, takes no notice of the circumstance in his *Tragedy of Cardinal Beaton*, written immediately after his death, and in which all the worst scandal is collected to bring his memory into odium. Fox the martyrologist, whose information was in general accurate, does not mention the story, or even allude to it, although he was also a contemporary. John Bale, bishop of Ossory, who dedicated his work entitled "*Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Britanniae*" to

* Buchanan, Scot. Hist. lib. xv. p. 294.

Alexander Aless and John Knox, published in 1559, the latter of whom he knew well, in thanking both of them for their literary information, makes no mention of the circumstance, although, in an appendix to his article on Cardinal Beaton, he informs us that the cardinal was, by the just judgment of God, punished in the same month, day, and hour in which he had condemned Sir John Borthwick. There can be little doubt that this story, if not fabricated by Buchanan, at least believed, and first propagated by him, was then totally unknown in Scotland, and that it was the invention of subsequent zealots, or probably of the conspirators themselves, in order to obtain a superstitious sanction from the populace for one of the foulest murders which stain the annals of history. From respect to the memory of Wishart, who was most unjustly condemned for heresy, but whose mildness, courage, and christian resignation were most conspicuous on the occasion, this foolish and false story ought to be always denied. It either proves, if it were true—for to suppose him gifted with prophetic power would be a ridiculous absurdity—that he knew more of the conspiracy against the cardinal's life than is generally supposed, and that he thus practised duplicity in the last moments of his life, in uttering as a threatening and revengeful prediction what he knew well would most certainly happen; or that his words were merely incoherent ravings elicited from the sufferings he was enduring, and of which he accused the cardinal as the cause. From the evidence just quoted, we may safely presume that he never uttered the prediction in question, and it is doubtful whether the cardinal witnessed the execution, or whether the appearance of some

of his domestics and retainers at the windows of the castle was the cause of this rumour. Yet it is remarkable with what persevering obstinacy, in defiance of the most conclusive evidence, the story is maintained by some modern writers. The citizens of St Andrews, too, add their testimony to the falsehood, by pretending to point out a window in the ruins of the castle from which the cardinal witnessed the execution, which, instead of affording accommodation for cushions and tapestry, would hardly afford space for one full-grown individual to look out. They forget, however, that the cardinal's castle was almost literally levelled to the ground by an act of the privy council in 1547, and that the present pile, now in ruins, in the style of a manor-house rather than a castle, was erected by the equally unfortunate archbishop Hamilton, some years after the cardinal's death.

The cardinal's proceedings against Wishart, in defiance of the regent's orders, produced a considerable sensation in the kingdom. The priests, of course, extolled the spirit and determination of the primate; but others of moderate principles condemned it as a rash and most imprudent action, which was likely to be attended with very serious consequences. The friends of the protestant cause, however, viewed it as little better than murder, which, though unquestioned by the state, ought to be revenged by private individuals. Loud lamentations were made by many over the fate of their favourite preacher; whispers of revenge were freely circulated, and "in those days of ignorance, when," observes Mr Tytler, "the truth was only beginning to dawn upon the darkness and ferocity of feudalism, an opinion began to be entertained that the example of the Old Testament

heroes in cutting off a determined persecutor was not unworthy of imitation. Such sentiments were not lost upon those men who, under the influence of far baser motives, had already organized a conspiracy for the assassination of the cardinal. Cassillis, Glencairn, Sir George Douglas, the Laird of Grange, Crichton of Brunstone, and the Master of Rothes, had been prevented by various causes from accomplishing their purpose, the difficulty of binding Henry VIII. to a direct promise of reward, and the discernment of Beaton, who, although he could not wholly detect the working of some dark purpose against his life, had interrupted and balked the authors of this plot; and they hailed the feelings excited by the fate of Wishart as a new means placed in their hands for accelerating the catastrophe they so ardently desired. With the people Beaton formerly had been popular, but they now openly inveighed against his cruelty. John Leslie, brother of the Earl of Rothes, did not hesitate to declare in public that he would have blood for blood; and his nephew, Norman Leslie, with Kirkaldy of Grange, had entered into a close correspondence with England. Of all these circumstances, Brunstone and his friends were not slow to avail themselves; nor are we to forget that, if their minds had been already made up on the necessity of ridding themselves of the cardinal, the desire of avenging the fate of their friend must have whetted their slumbering purpose to new activity."

The cardinal, however, whatever were his thoughts and purposes, seemed to be little concerned at the rumours which the condemnation of Wishart had excited. Strong in the interest of France, supported by almost all the

nobility, having all the clergy and their dependants under his controul, still popular among the people, who would soon forget the affair of Wishart's execution, which he could prove to them was necessary for the safety of the church, and, above all, having defeated by his own sagacity and penetration the schemes of the English monarch and his Scottish adherents, the cardinal appears to have felt no disquietude, and to have disregarded the murmurings of the few who had questioned his authority. He nevertheless increased his influence by procuring bonds of *manrent* or feudal service from some leading persons who were hostile to him, and among those, from Norman Leslie, who entered into a *bond of manrent* with him on the 24th of April 1545, for the estate of Easter Wemyss on the south coast of Fife, in the parish of that name. And that the cardinal felt himself personally in no danger, is evident from the fact of his proceeding in the month of April to the county of Forfar, and at the castle of Findhaven marrying one of his illegitimate daughters, Margaret Beaton, to the eldest son of the Earl of Crawford, who afterwards succeeded his father as the tenth earl of that ancient family. The marriage contract is dated at St Andrews, 10th April 1546; and he gave the bride as her dowry 4000 merks, a large sum of money in those days. She is expressly styled by the cardinal in the contract, *my daughter*; and the marriage festivities were conducted with great magnificence and hospitality. From this transaction, it is evident that the cardinal made no secret of his breaches of the laws of celibacy; but, although those departures from decorum were in accordance with the loose morality of the age, they were the sources of some successful

attacks on the church. The private life of the cardinal, as it has been set forth by his enemies, is delineated as one of gross licentiousness and indulgence, but we must receive such testimonies with caution. He had three sons who were legitimatized, according to the Scottish law, during his lifetime, James, Alexander, and John Beaton. In the act of legitimation, they are termed "the natural sons of the right reverend," &c. It is singular that Alexander Beaton, who entered the church, and was made Official of Lothian, afterwards became a protestant; and his descendants, and those of his brothers, are in the county of Fife at the present time.

But while the cardinal was at the castle of Findhaven on this festive occasion, he was compelled to hasten back to St Andrews, by receiving intelligence that active preparations were making in England for an invasion, and that an English fleet had been seen hovering about the coast. Aware that his castle of St Andrews would be one of the first objects of Henry's attack, he immediately commenced fortifying it in the strongest manner. The rumour of the English invasion, so industriously propagated, was soon found to have been premature, and the cardinal appears at this period to have meditated a voyage to France—a circumstance which Brunstone communicated to Henry's agent, Lord Wharton, in the hope that the said voyage would be "cut short." The cardinal also continued his operations of fortifying his archiepiscopal residence, knowing that the aspect of the times rendered every precaution necessary.

But the cardinal's life was now hastening to its close. What were the proceedings of Cassillis, Brunstone, and that party of the conspirators south of the Forth, does

not appear; but a private quarrel with Norman Leslie accelerated an event which had long been desired. When the cardinal returned to St Andrews after his daughter's marriage, he summoned the nobility and gentry of Fife to attend him, to devise measures for the defence of that county in case of an invasion. He made a tour round the coast from the south shore of the county by Fifeness to St Andrews, ordering fortifications to be erected in the most advantageous positions. Returning to St Andrews, he was attended by Norman Leslie, commonly called the Master of Rothes, and a number of gentlemen connected with the county. It appears that Leslie had resigned the estate of Easter Wemyss to the cardinal on the promise of an advantageous equivalent. Demanding at St Andrews the fulfilment of the bargain, the cardinal either refused, or made some equivocating reply, which caused angry words to pass between them. In this disposition they separated; the cardinal obstinate, in all the pride of insulted dignity, and Leslie vowing revenge. We have seen that he had been connected with Brunstone's party, and therefore the resolution to which he now came was neither new nor unpremeditated. He proceeded to his uncle, John Leslie, an avowed enemy of the cardinal, to whom he narrated the interview, and the primate's conduct. It was determined to murder him at all hazards, for they well knew that he would not be idle; and indeed he had by this time determined to imprison the two Leslies, and all their friends who were hostile to him. Messengers were immediately dispatched to Kirkaldy of Grange, Melville of Raith, and others, to hold themselves in readiness for the daring exploit.

On the 28th of May 1546, Norman Leslie entered St Andrews with some followers, but not so many as to excite suspicion. The others assembled in that city during the evening; Kirkaldy was there on the previous day; John Leslie arrived late, lest his appearance should excite alarm. Next morning they assembled early in the vicinity of the castle, and on the porter lowering the drawbridge to admit the workmen whom the cardinal had been employing incessantly at the fortifications, Kirkaldy of Grange entered with six men; and while speaking to the porter, as to the hour when the cardinal would be stirring and could be seen, Norman Leslie and his party also gained admission into the court yard. John Leslie now appeared with a few attendants, but when the porter saw him he suspected the design, and attempted to lift the drawbridge. He was prevented by Leslie, who sprang across the gap with his attendants, slew the porter, threw the body into the foss, and seized the keys of the fortress. The workmen were then led individually out of the castle by the postern gate. Kirkaldy, who knew intimately all the localities of the building, then took his station at the only passage by which escape was practicable, and the other conspirators proceeded to the apartments of the different individuals and servants composing the cardinal's household, to whom they were well known, and rousing them from their slumbers, dismissed every one of them out of the castle except the eldest son of the regent, whom they kept for their own security. One hundred and fifty individuals were thus ejected, including the workmen; and being now in full possession of the fortress before there was even an alarm in the town, they dropped the portcullis, and closed

the gates. The cardinal, roused by the noise, arose from his couch, and opened the casement of his window to inquire the cause. A voice answered him that Norman Leslie had taken the castle. He ran to the postern, but finding it locked, he returned to his apartment, and seizing a sword, proceeded to barricade the door with the heaviest furniture, assisted by the page or attendant who waited on him. John Leslie now advanced to the prelate's room, and demanded admittance. "Who is there?" inquired the cardinal. "My name is Leslie," replied the assailant. "Which of the Leslies?" asked the cardinal; "are you Norman?"—remembering in a moment his previous altercation with that individual—"I must have Norman; he is my friend." "Content yourself with those who are here," was the reply, "for you will get no other." They then insisted that the cardinal should open the door, which he refused to do. While they were attempting to force it, the prelate concealed a box of gold under some coals in a corner of the room, and then sat down on a chair, exclaiming to those outside, "I am a priest: I am a priest." Finding them resolute to gain admittance, he at length asked them if they would save his life. "It may be that we will," replied John Leslie. "Nay," said the cardinal, "swear unto me by God's word, and I will admit you." The elder Leslie now called out for *fire*, the door from its strength resisting all their exertions. A quantity of burning coals was brought to burn the door, when the cardinal, or his chamberlain, seeing farther remonstrance hopeless, opened the door, on the strongest assurances of personal safety. He reminded them of his sacred function; but he was now in the hands of men who cared

little for the clerical profession. They rushed on the cardinal, and John Leslie, and another conspirator named Carmichael, repeatedly struck him. But Melville of Raith, who had been intimately acquainted with Wishart, perceiving them in a furious passion, pushed them aside, and presenting the point of his sword, thus addressed the wounded prelate:—"Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr George Wishart, who, although the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to avenge it. Remember that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of riches, nor the fear of thy power, moved or moveth me to strike thee, but because thou hast been an obstinate enemy of Christ and the holy gospel." Melville then passed his sword through the cardinal's body several times, who sunk into his chair, and instantly expired.

The alarm had by this time been given in the town; the bells were rung, and the citizens, by whom the cardinal, notwithstanding all his proceedings, appears to have been greatly beloved, came in crowds headed by the provost, and surrounded the entire wall of the castle. "What have you done with my lord cardinal?" they clamorously demanded: "Have you slain my lord cardinal?" They were answered by the conspirators from the battlements that it would be as well to return to their houses, for the man whom they called the cardinal had received his reward, and would trouble them no more. This reply having only the more enraged them, they were addressed by Norman Leslie as unreasonable fools, who demanded an audience with a dead man.

Dragging the bleeding body of the murdered primate to the spot, they suspended it by a sheet over the wall, exclaiming, "There is your god; and now that you are satisfied, get home to your houses,"—a command with which, in horror and amazement, they eventually complied.

It is to be observed that all this occurred early in the morning, and was the work of only a few individuals, the whole number not amounting to twenty men; and of those the two Leslies, Kirkaldy, Melville, and Carmichael, were the chief. John Leslie bore an implacable hatred towards the cardinal. Norman Leslie had quarrelled with him about the bond of manrent: he was besides an old conspirator against him, an associate of Glencairn, Cassillis, Brunstone, and others, and was in the pay of the English monarch. Carmichael also had disputed with the cardinal about some property, and hated him bitterly. Kirkaldy of Grange was drawn into it on account of having been expelled from a lucrative situation at the court, by the influence of the cardinal, during the reign of James V. Melville had been for a long time the cardinal's inveterate enemy, but he appears to have been the only one of them who connected the cardinal's murder with the death of Wishart. It will thus be seen that this murder originated latterly from private resentment, although it had been for years organized, and often frustrated. The other individuals were merely the dependants or servants of the murderers, who would have acted in a similar manner towards any person with whom their masters were at variance.

Such was the fate of cardinal David Beaton, in the very prime of life, one of the greatest men of the Romish

church in Scotland before the Reformation, with whom fell, as we shall subsequently see, the ascendancy of popery in Scotland. His character has been variously represented, and can be best appreciated from his actions and general conduct. Zealous in the cause of the papal hierarchy, his abilities were in no manner inferior to his fortune, being distinguished, as Paulus Jovius, a contemporary writer, observes in his "Description of Scotland," for the lustre of his great actions and the superiority of his genius. He was not remarkable for learning; at least he gave no proofs of it, although he wrote, according to Dempster, "Memoirs of his own Embasseys," a "Treatise on St Peter's Supremacy," and "Letters to Several Persons," of which that author observes there are several copies in the Royal Library at Paris. The following character of him by the same writer, expressed in a moderate manner, is inserted here as a fine specimen of old English composition. "His behaviour was so taking, that he never addicted himself to the service of any prince or person but he absolutely obtained their confidence, and this power he had over the minds of others he managed with so much prudence and discretion, that his interest was never weakened or decayed. He was indefatigable in business, and yet managed it with great ease. He understood the interests of the courts of Rome, France, and Scotland, better than any man of his time, and he was perfectly acquainted with the temper, influence, and weight of all the nobility in his own country. In time of danger he showed great prudence and steadiness of mind, and in his highest prosperity discovered nothing of vanity or giddiness. He was a zealous churchman, and thought severity the only weapon which should combat heresy.

He loved to live magnificently, though not profusely, for at the time of his death he was rich, and yet had provided plentifully for his family. But his failings were many, and his vices scandalous. His pride was so great, that he quarrelled with the old archbishop of Glasgow (Dunbar) in his own city, and pushed this quarrel so far that their men fought in the very church. His ambition was boundless, for he took into his own hands the entire management of the affairs of the kingdom, civil and ecclesiastical, and treated the English ambassador as if he had been a sovereign prince. He made no scruple of sowing discord amongst his enemies, that he might reap security from their disputes. His jealousy of the regent (Arran) was such, that he kept his eldest son as hostage in his house, under pretence of taking care of his education. In point of chastity he was very deficient; for though we should set aside as calumnies many of those things which his enemies have reported of his intrigues, yet the posterity he left behind him plainly proves that he violated those vows to gratify his passions which he obliged others to hold sacred on the penalty of their lives. In a word, had his probity been equal to his parts, had his virtues come up to his abilities, his end had been less fatal, and his memory without blemish. As it is, we ought to consider him as an eminent instance of the brightest human faculties, and the mutability of what the world calls fortune."

The enemies of the cardinal, no longer in fear of his power, and especially the protestant preachers, for many years afterwards exulted at the murder in the most unbecoming manner, boasting that what had originated in a

private quarrel, and had been consummated by desperate and irreligious men, was agreeable to the will of the Divine Being. Knox justified it as a "godly fact," maintaining that the cardinal was "slain by the hand of God;" and gave evidence of his approval of it by immediately joining the conspirators, who now fortified themselves in the castle of St Andrews. His sentiments, strange to say, are all but vindicated by his biographer, Dr M'Crie, in the first volume of his *Life of Knox*. But this barbarous and bloody murder, which has been justified by enthusiasts chiefly to sanction a similar act which was perpetrated in the following century—the murder of archbishop Sharp—has been reprobated by every writer; and the remarkable fate of the conspirators themselves, scarcely one of them dying an ordinary death, made the people even in that age loudly condemn it. Norman Leslie, the only one of them who exhibited signs of repentance, and who, according to bishop Lesley of Ross, endeavoured to make all the reparation he could to the cardinal's family, was killed in France; Kirkaldy of Grange was hanged some years afterwards in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh; and the deaths of the three others were also violent. It would be erroneous to ascribe the fate of these men to the judgment of God simply for murdering the cardinal, because it was, externally at least, accelerated by other causes; but it was beheld in that light by many people of the age, who, while they disliked the cardinal, universally agreed in reprobating the murder and the murderers. Even Sir David Lindsay, his inveterate enemy, who rejoiced in his death, expressed his abhorrence of

the manner of it in the well known verse, which has been often quoted:—

As for the cardinal, I grant
He was the man we well might want—
God will forgive it soon :
But of a truth, the sooth to say,
Altho' the loon be well away,
The deed was foully done.

The resentment of the cardinal's murderers extended to his dead body. Knox thus describes the treatment which it received:—"As his funeral could not be suddenly prepared, it was thought best, to keep him from spoiling, to give him salt enough, a cope of lead, and a corner in the Sea Tower (a place where many of God's children had been imprisoned before), to wait what exequies his brethren the bishops would prepare for him." It appears, however, from the manuscript account of the bishops and archbishops of St Andrews, written by Sir James Balfour about the year 1600, that the cardinal's body, nine months after the murder, was privately interred in the convent of the Black Friars, in the city of St Andrews; but the particular spot, owing to the subsequent demolition of that and other establishments in Scotland of a similar nature, has been forgotten.

CHAPTER VIII.

DECLENSION OF THE CHURCH.

THE murder of the cardinal caused the greatest consternation throughout the kingdom, and spread dismay among all ranks of the clergy, who began seriously to tremble for the stability of the establishment. The boldness and daring of the assassins, the violence of their conduct, and the atrocious crime they had committed, became subjects of intense discussion, alarming the government, and especially that party devoted to the French interest, of which the murdered primate had been the leader. Leslie and his associates meanwhile shut themselves up in the castle of St Andrews, retaining the eldest son of the regent whom they found in the castle, and defying all attempts of the government to force them to surrender. They were immediately joined by Knox and a Dominican friar of Stirling named John Rough, who had officiated as a chaplain to the regent before his abjuration of the protestant doctrines, and who was afterwards apprehended at Islington, in London, and burnt at Smithfield, at the instance of Bonner, bishop of London. Those two individuals acted as chaplains to the garrison, the numbers of which had considerably increased,* either on account of their approval of the cardinal's murder, which

* "Seven score persons entered into the castle the day after the slaughter of the cardinal."—*Archbishop Spottiswood's History*, p. 84.

they openly justified, and thereby rendered themselves liable to prosecution, or from a desire to profess their religious tenets in the society of those who now embraced the same principles. It does not appear what was Knox's motive for entering the castle, as he was not compelled to do so from any impending danger, but he remained in it until it was taken by the regent ten months after the cardinal's murder.

Cardinal Beaton was succeeded in the vacant see by John Hamilton, illegitimate brother of the regent, and son of James first Earl of Arran by a gentlewoman of Ayrshire named Boyd. Of the birth or early education of this prelate, the last Roman Catholic primate of Scotland, nothing is known, except his having been educated at Glasgow, and afterwards proceeding to France, where he entered into holy orders. In 1541, he was appointed through the influence of his family, within whose extensive jurisdiction the patronage was situated, abbot of the rich and magnificent abbey of Paisley. This abbacy, of which a part of the church and the aisle only remain, was one of the wealthiest in the kingdom, having the tithes of twenty-eight parishes, and property in every district of the country; and its revenues amounting to L.2468 in money per annum, besides upwards of 155 chalders of barley, oats, and meal, and 705 stone of cheese. Returning through England from France, Hamilton had been graciously received by Henry VIII.; and he entered into that monarch's project for an alliance between his son Edward and the infant princess Mary of Scotland. On his arrival in Scotland, he found his brother the Earl of Arran at the head of the government; and perceiving the path to distinction apparently more secure

by attaching himself to the French interest, he joined cardinal Beaton in his opposition to the intended matrimonial alliance, and in all those schemes which the cardinal projected for the security and stability of the church. In 1542 he was appointed lord privy seal, and in 1545-6 he succeeded Kirkaldy of Grange as lord high treasurer, which was the origin of that individual's hatred towards cardinal Beaton, whom Kirkaldy alleged to have influenced the appointment. In that year he was farther rewarded by being appointed to the wealthy bishopric of Dunkeld, which became vacant by the death of bishop Crichton. It is said that he wished to retain along with his see the dignity and revenue of the abbey of Paisley; but he was persuaded to resign in favour of a younger brother, on the stipulation that he should receive the fruits of that benefice during his own lifetime, and power to re-enter if he survived his brother. The influence of the regent procured for him the metropolitan see of St Andrews after the murder of the cardinal, to which he was elected by the chapter, and duly confirmed by the court of Rome.

At this particular crisis the murder of the cardinal appears to have caused a cessation of hostilities against the hierarchy; or, at least, the progress of the protestant cause was not very perceptible. The see of Glasgow was vacant by the death of archbishop Dunbar, who died the month previous to the cardinal's murder, and the chapter had elected Alexander Gordon, brother of the Earl of Huntly, to the see. But James Beaton, a nephew of the cardinal, by whom he had been educated in France while he resided there as minister of state, and in whose favour he resigned the abbacy of Arbroath in

1543, was also nominated, probably out of respect to his uncle. The election of Gordon by the chapter, and the nomination of Beaton by the regent, produced a dispute, which was ultimately referred to the decision of the pontiff. After a vacancy of five years in the see of Glasgow, Beaton was consecrated at Rome in 1552, whither he had been sent to lay before the pope the state of ecclesiastical affairs after the death of his uncle; and Gordon was appointed titular archbishop of Athens, with the promise of the first vacant bishopric in Scotland—a promise which was speedily fulfilled by his being preferred to the bishopric of the Isles, and to the abbey of Inchaffray *in commendam*. The other bishoprics were severally filled by prelates connected with the first families in the kingdom, and the government of the church was administered in the usual manner. The alarm occasioned by the cardinal's murder was beginning to subside, more especially as his successor was not only a man of energy and resolution, but had the greatest influence over the regent. The clergy were again relapsing into security, unconscious that many things were silently but steadily operating to effect their destruction.

The attention of the government, and indeed of the nation, was chiefly directed towards the cardinal's murderers and their associates in the castle of St Andrews. They continued to hold out this place in defiance of the regent, who with all the forces he could muster found himself unable to reduce a fortress which in modern times could not have been defended one hour. Secretly encouraged by Henry VIII., and having the regent's son in their possession, they felt a degree of confidence which prompted them to the most licentious

excesses, perpetrating the greatest villanies throughout the adjacent country, in defiance of the regent's authority and the remonstrances of the protestant preachers. While residing in the castle, Knox and his companion Rough occasionally denounced the papal authority even in the parish church, and held disputes with the members of the university on the controversial points between the protestants and the Romish clergy. As might have been expected, those disputations were of considerable service to the protestant cause. The new archbishop, who had not then taken possession of the see, no sooner heard of those proceedings, than he wrote to John Winram, the subprior and vicar-general, authorizing him to prohibit all heretical disputations; but that functionary was neither inclined nor able to interfere. Knox, however, was subsequently excluded from officiating in public, and soon after shared the fate of the garrison, who were compelled to surrender to a French fleet in the month of June 1547, and sent to the galleys. The castle was on that occasion dismantled by order of the privy council, and the greater part of it razed to the ground, probably in compliance with the canon law, which prohibits the preservation of any building in which the blood of a cardinal has been shed; and probably also from a prudential motive, to prevent its being again fortified to the annoyance of the government.

Into the political history of this period it is no part of our plan to enter; suffice it to say, that the invasion of the English under the protector Somerset after the death of Henry VIII., the havoc which marked their progress, destroying the abbeys of Kelso and Jedburgh,

parish churches, towns, and villages, and the fatal defeat of the Scottish army at the battle of Pinkie near Edinburgh, where 15,000 men were slain, so completely occupied the public attention, as to make the disputes of the Reformation for a time forgotten. The church had generously provided for the expenses of the war, but in thus engaging in fatal collision with England, the clergy seem never to have contemplated the possibility of the protestant cause being advanced by the successes of the English army. Yet such was the result; the protestant interest became stronger by the repeated successes of the English, and the known attachment of the council of Edward VI. to the protestant church swayed some of the Scottish nobility, and more readily disposed them to prepare for the defensive in those disputes which were shortly to divide the kingdom, and to terminate the legal existence of the Romish hierarchy.

The peace with England, however, which was concluded and ratified in 1549, again brought the protestant cause into prominent notice, and archbishop Hamilton resolved to commence a complete renovation of ecclesiastical matters. The proceedings of John Knox at St Andrews, who, besides disputing with the dignitaries of the church in that city, had actually succeeded in forming a protestant congregation there, composed of the garrison and some of the inhabitants, induced the primate to begin his operations, being strongly supported by the regent. In 1549, a provincial synod was held at Linlithgow, and afterwards transferred to Edinburgh, to consider the reformation of the church and the extirpation of heresy. "This council," to quote the condensed account of it by Dr M'Crie, "acknowledged

that corruption and profane lewdness of life, as well as gross ignorance of arts and sciences, reigned amongst the clergy of almost every degree,* and they enacted no fewer than fifty-eight canons for correcting these evils. They agreed to carry into execution the decree of the General Council of Basle, which ordained that every clergyman who lived in concubinage should be deprived of the revenues of his benefice for three months, and that if, after due admonition, he did not dismiss his concubine, or if he took to himself another, he should be altogether deprived of all benefice. They exhorted the prelates and inferior clergy not to retain in their own houses their bastard children, nor to suffer them to be promoted directly or indirectly to their own benefices; nor to employ the patrimony of the church for the purpose of marrying them to barons, or for erecting baronages for them. That the distinction between clergy and laity might be visibly preserved, they appointed the ordinaries to charge the priests under their care to desist from the practice of preserving their beards, which had begun to prevail, and to see that the canonical tonsure was duly observed. To remedy the neglect of public instruction, which was so loudly complained of, they agreed to observe the act of the Council of Trent, which ordained that every bishop, according to the grace given him, should preach personally four times a-year at least, unless lawfully hindered; and that such of them as were unfit for this duty through want of practice, should endeavour to qualify themselves, and for that end should entertain in their houses learned

* Concilia, Proem. apud Wilkin, tom iv. 46, Con. p. 209.

divines capable of instructing them. The same injunctions were laid on rectors. They appointed that a benefice should be set apart in each bishopric and monastery for supporting a preacher who might supply the want of teaching within the bounds; that where no such benefice was set apart, persons should be allotted; and that when neither of them was provided, the preacher should be entitled to demand from the rector forty shillings a-year, provided he had preached four times in his parish within that period. The council made a number of other regulations concerning the dress and diet of the clergy, the course of study in cathedral churches and monasteries, union of benefices, pluralities, ordinations, dispensations, and the method of process in consistorial courts. But not trusting altogether to these remedies for the cure of heresy, they further ordained that the bishop of each diocese and the head of each monastery should appoint inquisitors of heretical pravity, men of piety, probity, learning, good fame, and great circumspection, who should make the most diligent search after heresies, foreign opinions, and condemned books, particularly profane songs intended to defame the clergy, and to detract from the authority of the ecclesiastical constitutions.”*

Many of these canons are truly excellent, and had they been rigidly enjoined or acted upon in sincerity, it is not to be doubted that important and salutary reforms would have taken place. But archbishop Hamilton, immediately after the dissolution of this council, in imitation of his predecessors, committed an act of

* Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 165-7.

severity, as cruel as it was in this instance unnecessary. A man named Adam Wallace was apprehended and committed to prison on a charge of heresy. This individual, who is described as a "simple man, but very zealous for the new doctrines," was employed by the lady of Cockburn of Ormiston, at whose house Wishart was apprehended, and whose husband was in exile on account of a treasonable correspondence with the English, to superintend the education of her children as a kind of tutor or preceptor. He had probably imbibed his opinions from Wishart and Knox, and it is not unlikely that the injudicious zeal of the lady herself was the cause of his prosecution. To embrace the protestant opinions was criminal enough, but to inculcate them on the minds of children was held by the church to be a serious crime. He was taken at Winton in Haddingtonshire, a house then belonging to the ancient earls of that name, and brought to trial in the church of the Black Friars in Edinburgh, in presence of the archbishop, the regent, the Earl of Argyle, lord justice-general, the Earls of Angus and Huntly, and also Glencairn, who, strange to say, presided on this occasion, but who, according to Knox, protested against the proceedings. Some other individuals of rank were also present. It is evident that this man, who was not an ecclesiastic, was unworthy of their notice, from his obscurity and the weakness of his intellect; but the primate resolved to strike terror into the minds of the people by an example. John Lauder, official of Teviotdale, in the southern district of the diocese of St Andrews, was the prosecutor; and among the charges brought against Wallace, which were generally of the

same description as those already cited, was one of having assumed the office of a preacher, and of having administered the sacrament of baptism to one of his own children. His wife was also committed to prison as being a participator in his erroneous notions, but was discharged. The answers he returned to the accusations were such as might have convinced the judges that his ideas on these subjects were strangely fanciful and absurd. He denied the accusation of assuming the functions of a preacher, and declared that he had only read some portions of the scriptures at private meetings, making observations on their import in a familiar manner. He admitted the imputation of having baptized his own child, which he justified by maintaining that it was as lawful for him to do so as it was for Abraham to circumcise Ishmael. His answers to the other charges consisted chiefly of objections to the peculiar observances of the Romish church, and claiming to be judged by the word of God. They condemned him to the stake, and the Earl of Huntly forgot his rank and his office of a judge by the indecent violence which he displayed towards the unfortunate prisoner. On the following day he was led to the stake on the Castlehill of Edinburgh, where he submitted to his fate with great fortitude and devotion, observing, when he was bound to the stake, that "the disciple is not above his master." This cruel exhibition was the first public act of archbishop Hamilton's primacy, and one which greatly tended to irritate the minds of the people, who were rapidly approaching to that state of religious excitement which was soon to overwhelm the hierarchy, the prelacy, and the papal power in Scotland.

During this year also a dispute arose among the clergy, absurd and frivolous in its origin, but which excited a keen interest among them, and at length became the subject of the most bitter ridicule and satire among the people. The story, which is characteristic and amusing, is thus narrated by archbishop Spottiswood, and is curiously illustrative of the style of preaching in those times. Richard Marrhall, prior of the monastery of Preaching or Dominican Friars (*Domus Fratrum Predicatorum*) at Newcastle, having visited St Andrews, maintained, in a sermon delivered in the cathedral, that the *Paternoster*, or Lord's Prayer, should be addressed unto God only, and not unto the saints. Some of the professors in the university, offended at this protestant assertion, but afraid or unwilling to come prominently forward against the English ecclesiastic, applied to a Franciscan named Tottis to undertake a refutation of the tenet, and to prove that the *Paternoster* ought to be addressed to the saints as well as to God. This friar, whom archbishop Spottiswood justly terms "an audacious and ignorant fellow," readily engaged in the matter, and in a discourse founded on the passage in the Sermon on the Mount, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for unto them appertaineth the kingdom of heaven," proceeded to show the fallacy of the English Dominican's reasoning. "All the petitions in the prayer," said he, "appertain to the saints. For if we meet an old man in the streets, we say, Good morrow, father: much more then may we in our prayers call the saints *our fathers*. And seeing we grant they are *in heaven*, we may say to every one of them, *Our Father which art in heaven*. Then we know that God hath made their names

holy; therefore we may say to any of the saints, *Hallowed be thy name*. As they are in the kingdom of heaven, that kingdom is consequently theirs by possession, which justifies us in saying to each of them, *Thy kingdom come*. And unless their will had been the will of God, they would never have come to that kingdom; seeing, therefore, that their will is God's will, we may say to every one of them, *Thy will be done*." When, however, he came to the fourth petition, *Give us this day our daily bread*, his ingenuity was not a little puzzled. He admitted that it was not in the power of the saints to give us our daily bread, but they may nevertheless pray to God for us, which amounts to the same thing. In a similar manner he commented upon all the other petitions, until the audience could no longer restrain their gravity, and were almost convulsed with laughter in the church. This ludicrous exposition immediately became the talk of the place; the very boys began to ridicule him on the streets by the soubriquet of *Friar Paternoster*, and he at length was compelled to leave the city.

But, continues the venerable historian, the contention did not cease in this manner. The members of the university were as much divided on the subject as ever, and in a meeting which was immediately held, the dispute was continued with no little acrimony. Some maintained that the *Paternoster* was said to God *formaliter*, and to the saints *materialiter*; others maintained that it ought to be said to God *principaliter*, and to the saints *minus principaliter*. One party held that it ought to be said to God *ultimatè* and *non ultimatè*; another, *primariò* and *secundariò*; but the majority determined that the *Paternoster* should be said to God

capiendo strictè, and to the saints *capiendo largè*. This opinion, however, was not admitted unanimously, and it was at length agreed to refer the matter to the provincial synod of the church which was to meet at Edinburgh in January 1551-2. We are informed by the archbishop, that a domestic of John Winram the subprior, wondering at the frequent meetings of the clergy in St Andrews, took the liberty of inquiring the cause. "We cannot agree," said the subprior, "to whom we should address the Paternoster." "Sir," asked the domestic, "to whom should it be said but to God?" "What shall we do with the saints, then?" inquired the subprior. "Give them aves and credos enough in the devil's name," retorted the domestic, "for that may suffice them." Winram, amused with the reply of his servant, could not refrain from repeating it, which occasioned the remark, that "he had given a wiser decision than all the doctors had done with their distinctions."*

The provincial council, to which we have alluded, met at Edinburgh, in the church of the Black Friars, on the 26th of January 1551-2, and the archbishop presided in person. The execution of Wallace had been productive of so little advantage to the church, that the primate now found it necessary to adopt other measures to repress the progress of heresy. With a ridiculous pertinacity, much time was consumed in settling the idle controversy which had originated at St Andrews, and which had been referred to the provincial synod for final determination. It was there ordered that the Paternoster ought to be addressed to God, but in such a manner as

* Spottiswood's History, p. 91, 92.

that the saints might be invoked; and the subprior was enjoined officially to announce this decision to the members of the university. The canons of the former council were ratified and approved; and seventeen additional ones were added, excellent and judicious in their spirit, to enforce discipline, and the reformation of abuses. The council declares that by the vigilant activity of the bishops, heresy, which had formerly spread throughout the kingdom, was now repressed, and almost extinguished—"atque interim secum reputans quot horrendæ hæresis aliquot hisce annis in variis et diversis hujus regni partibus sunt grassatæ, jam vero Dei optimi maximique providentia singularique favore principum et praelatorum vigilantia studioque erga fidem Catholicam tandem repressæ, ac fere sopitæ videntur;"—and, unquestionably, every avowed protestant teacher had either been silenced, or driven out of the country. The established system had yet great and even supreme power in Scotland; and as archbishop Hamilton, in the case of the unfortunate victim Wallace, had given a sufficient indication that he was not indisposed to resort to summary punishments in defence of the church, many chose rather to remain in England under the protection of Edward VI. and his protestant government, than expose their lives to most certain death. The influence which the archbishop exercised over his brother the regent was an additional reason for remaining in exile, as it was well known that every sentence pronounced by the church would be fully sanctioned by the civil power. There were, however, many protestants in different parts of the kingdom, or persons inclined to the protestant doctrines, and not a few of the

clergy had secretly imbibed those opinions; but prudential motives, or other considerations, suggested to them the propriety of remaining at peace, and at least in nominal communion with the church.

The canons, we have said, enacted by this council were excellent, and evince that the clergy really desired a reformation of abuses, whatsoever might have been the reluctant necessity by which they arrived at that conclusion. They ordered due submission to the decrees of former councils—enjoined public preaching—a rigid examination of all curates and vicars—a registration of deeds and wills, and of marriages—the observance of Sundays and other holidays—the due visitation of hospitals—more rigidly enforced the statute against excommunicated persons, ordering their names to be published in the parish churches—regulated the laws against clandestine marriages, and the non-publication of bans, and enacted punishments against those who celebrated such marriages. But the most celebrated canon was the sixteenth, relating to the approval and publication of a catechism, which appears to have been compiled for the purpose; and after declaring that “the inferior clergy and the prelates were yet for the most part unqualified to instruct the people sufficiently in the catholic faith, and for reclaiming those who had become infected with erroneous doctrines,” the catechism was ordered to be printed, and copies of it sent to all curates, vicars, and rectors, who were to read a portion of it every Sunday when no sermon was preached. The clergy were also enjoined to practise the reading of the catechism daily, lest they should stammer in the pulpit, and expose themselves to the ridicule of their congregations. The archbishop was

empowered, after supplying the clergy with a sufficient number of copies, to preserve the remainder; and the curates were prohibited from allowing it promiscuously to the people, unless they had permission from their ordinaries. If any individuals called in question the authority of the catechism, they were to be reported to the bishop of the diocese, and punished by the proper authorities.*

This singular work, which is still in existence,† and which archbishop Spottiswood seems to have confounded with a catechism published in 1559, by order of a provincial council, and which was called by the people in derision the *Twopenny Faith*, from its having been hawked about by pedlars, and sold for the sum of twopence Scots money, is entitled, “The Catechisme: That is to say, ane Comone and Catholik Instructione of the Christine People in Materis of our Catholik Faith and Religion, quhilk na gud Christin man or woman suld misknaw; set forth by y^e maist reverend Fathir in God Johne Archbischope of Sant Androus, Legatnait and Primat of y^e Kirk of Scotlande, in his Prouincal Counsale haldin at Edinburgh the xxvi. day of Januarie, the zeir of our Lord 1551, with the aduise and counsale of the Bischoppis and other prelatis, with doctours of theologie and canon law of the said realme of Scotland present for the tyme.” It is a small quarto volume, printed in black letter, containing several hundred pages, or, as it is marked, folios: the title, preface by the arch-

* Wilkins, Concilia, tom. iv. p. 69-73.

† There is a copy of this very rare and valuable work in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, and in the Library of the University of St Andrews.

bishop, and “Table of Materis,” consist of thirteen folios: the catechism begins on the first folio and concludes at folio *ccvi*. After which there are three pages of errata, and the typographical imprint—“Prentit at Sanct Androus, be the command and expens of the maist reverend father in God, John Archbischof of Sanct Androus, and primat of y^e haill kirk of Scotland, the xxix day of August, the zeir of our Lord MD.LII.” What number of copies was printed, or whether it was literally sent to every parish in Scotland, does not appear. The work is now extremely scarce.

This catechism contains a general summary and exposition of the principles of the Romish church, written, however, with great care, moderation, and considerable eloquence, in the Scoto-English language. It has been doubted whether the archbishop was actually the author or compiler of it, but there is every reason to conclude that it was *bona fide* his own performance, as it was published at his sole charge. Bale* mentions “Joannes Wonram vel Wyrem,” a “canon regular in St Andrews,” whom he describes as having written a catechism in the vernacular tongue, and it is probable that John Winram, the subprior of St Andrews, is the person here noticed. Winram might probably have taken part in its publication, but the authorship has been generally ascribed to the primate himself. The preface bears his name, and there is nothing in the other parts of it to warrant the doubt that they were not written by the same individual.†

* *Scriptores Magnæ Britanniae*, p. 224.

† The reader will find an extended analysis and account of this curious and now rare production of the last Roman catholic primate of Scotland in the “History of the Reformation in Scotland,” by Dr Cook of St

What effect the weekly recital of the several portions of this catechism might have upon the people individually, we are not informed, but from the uniform silence of the writers of that period respecting it, it must have been little known. Lord Hailes remarks, with some justice, that the council which enacted it “uses as many precautions to prevent it from coming into the hands of the laity as if it had been a book replete with the most pestilent heresy.”* In the year 1551, however, in the parliament which met at Edinburgh, about four months after the meeting of the provincial synod, all those acts which had been passed in the reign of James V. for the security and permanency of the catholic faith, and for the punishment of heretics, were renewed; and, in a parliament held in February 1552–3, a new act was passed, prohibiting the publication of any work without permission from the regent. Every precaution was thus taken by the archbishop to resist the coming enemy, so far as human laws could afford security; and unquestionably his efforts protracted for a time the fall of the trembling fabric. His primacy had been hitherto distinguished by only one act of persecution, and his public life had sufficiently evinced that, whatever he might be in politics, he was not a bigot in religion. Another provincial synod was held in the ancient town of Linlithgow at the conclusion of this year, in which all the decrees of the Council of Trent, enacted in the pontificate of Paul III., were declared to be binding on the Scottish church, and all who resisted them or disputed their

Andrews, vol. i. p. 361–367, and vol. iii. Appendix; and in M'Crie's Life of John Knox, vol. i. Appendix, p. 404–412.

* Provincial Councils, p. 36.

authority were denounced as heretics, to be punished accordingly. Several new canons were also set forth respecting the general conduct of the clergy, enforcing morality and outward decency of deportment; and the frequency of these councils and their enactments, entitles us to infer that there existed great necessity for a reformation in that respect. Yet the archbishop himself was notoriously at fault in the observance of his vows of continence; and this part of his conduct, which is a favourite theme on which his traducers descant, and which they have greatly magnified, is singularly at variance with the zeal he manifested for the removal of acknowledged abuses and immoralities. He openly, at this time, cohabited with a gentlewoman named Semple, to whom it is pretended he was married before he entered into holy orders, and who bore him one son, who was afterwards legitimatized, and put in possession of his father's property. As it respects this provincial council, the canons they enacted, however judicious and excellent, were evidently of little avail. Little or no obedience to them followed, they to whom the correction belonged, observes archbishop Spottiswood, being themselves in the highest degree culpable. This is an evident allusion to the primate himself, and to some of the ecclesiastics, among whom Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane, was most conspicuous; but, as we have already observed, charges of this nature brought against the primate and his brethren must be received with caution, as they rest chiefly on the authority of Buchanan, who, whatever might be his principles in other respects, did not scruple to record, propagate, and magnify the most extravagant falsehoods against his enemies. Leslie,

afterwards bishop of Ross, the celebrated secretary to Queen Mary, who was a contemporary of this council, and who probably was a member of it, has pronounced a high panegyric upon it; although, from the language of that writer, conciliation was by no means contemplated on the part of the church, but rather the utmost rigour was to be exercised in the prosecution of heretics:—"Eodem planè tempore cum hæretici catholicam religionem commovissent, quocunque ex clero prudentissimi, doctissimi et integerrimi fuerunt, concilio provinciali Lythqvoi celebrato, hæresim justissima anathematis nota configunt: omniaque quæ patrum auctoritate in Concilio Tridentino sub Pauli III. auspiciis sancta erant, justa, rata ac tanquam Dei imperio fixa plenìs comitiis declarant. Multaque alia decreta, quæ ad hæresis vires elidendas, catholicæ fidei auctoritatem firmandam, ac cleri mores perpugnandos plurimum faciebant constantissimè sciscunt."*

But while archbishop Hamilton was thus engaged in various undertakings to avert the fall of the Romish church, his bodily frame, which had long been feeble, almost sunk under a disease of a stubborn asthmatic nature, which defied the skill of the Scottish physicians, who at length pronounced his recovery hopeless. Confined to his apartment at St Andrews, his life seemed fast drawing to a close, and ambitious eyes were cast towards the succession in the primacy—an elevation at that period any thing but desirable. The celebrated Italian physician, Jerome Cardan, was induced to visit him in Scotland by a liberal remuneration; and as that individual

* Lesley, De Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. x. p. 476.

was religiously believed by the Scottish protestants to be a magician, the archbishop incurred no inconsiderable odium from the superstitious notions of the people on that account. The disease, either by the superior skill of Cardan, or from a reaction on the part of the primate, was subdued, and his health was restored; but the work was ascribed to magical or diabolical influence. This is at least the view taken of it by Buchanan and others. Whether the archbishop actually believed he was submitting to supernatural power, and Cardan impressed with the idea that he was administering it, is doubtful, and, perhaps, from the character of both parties, may be inferred; but the belief on his part was not more extravagant at such an age than the idea entertained by his enemies. It was during this illness that the queen mother, who had long formed the design of administering the government, seized the opportunity to induce the regent to resign his authority into her hands. The archbishop, now convalescent, soon procured the revocation of the instrument of resignation, which luckily had not been legally completed. His subsequent proceedings in this matter, and his transactions with Cardan, whom he sent home liberally rewarded, still farther impressed the people that he had made use of satanic agency—a notion which some years afterwards the protestant preachers took care to turn to his disadvantage, when they alluded in their declamations against him to the cure which had been effected by the “*Italian magician*.” It appears from Cardan’s own account, that he was invited by the primate, who had applied in vain to the physicians of the emperor of Germany and the French king. The primate, who was then forty years of age, had been ill

ten years with an asthma, which during the two previous years had returned at intervals, and sometimes oftener, every eight days. Cardan remained with him eleven weeks, and gave him such directions as within two years afterwards completed his recovery. The superstitious report alluded to was likely caused by Cardan's own character, and the subsequent fate of the primate. "If we may believe what history relates," observes a French author, "he gave his patient, after he cured him, a terrible proof of his skill in astrology. When taking leave of him, he told him, 'that he had perfectly cured him of his distemper, but that it was not in the power of his art to prevent his fate, or hinder him from being hanged.' The event justified his prediction, for he was hanged eighteen years after, according to the sentence passed upon him by the commissioners of Mary the queen regent. It is no wonder if, after this, some historians, especially Scottish, have treated Cardan as a magician."

CHAPTER IX.

FARTHER DECLENSION OF THE CHURCH.

THE provincial synod which sat at Edinburgh in 1551, asserted that heresy had been almost extinguished in the kingdom, and unquestionably, until 1554, the assertion, as far as external appearances indicated, seemed to be founded in truth. Those who were favourable to the protestant principles, being without instructors to explain those principles, naturally either relapsed into inactivity, or prudently waited for a change of circumstances, by which their convictions might be strengthened, and a public profession made without danger to their personal safety. But the boast of the clergy was of short duration. Two events occurred, which at once altered the aspect of affairs, and completed the overthrow of the establishment, now crumbling to decay.

The first was the death of Edward VI. in 1553, and the accession of Mary to the throne of England. During the reign of that young prince, the reformation of the church of England, begun by Henry VIII., rapidly progressed, and protection was afforded to all who were compelled to leave their native country on account of religion. In England, the protestant church was powerful, supported by the government, and rapidly gaining the people, while in Scotland it was almost annihilated. Many of the Scottish protestants, therefore, found that protection in England which was denied them in their own country. The accession of Mary, however, brought the re-establish-

ment of the Romish church in all its severe and persecuting intolerance. The stake was publicly set up, and not only numbers of the people, but some of the highest dignitaries of the church, were burnt as heretics. The exiles were forced to retreat from a fate which was inevitable, and with them many members of the protestant church of England.

The other event, to which we have alluded, and which served as a counterpart to the altered state of affairs in England, was the resignation of the Earl of Arran as regent of Scotland, and the elevation of Mary of Guise, the queen mother, to the administration of the government, which occurred in 1554. This ambitious princess had long endeavoured to supplant Arran, and we have seen that she almost accomplished it during the dangerous illness of his brother the archbishop. She had even courted some of those noblemen who were alleged to be favourable to the protestant cause; and, although well known to be a bigoted Romanist, and devoted to the preservation and support of that system, she had promised to protect the teachers and favourers of the protestants, if they would assist her in her projects. Many circumstances concurred to promote her views. The young queen Mary was in France, to the court of which she had been sent for her education, and had already exhibited those attractions which were the admiration of her time, and the sources of her own unhappy fortunes. The feebleness and vacillation of Arran had long irritated the bold nobility of Scotland, who tolerated him in his office merely on account of their hereditary respect for his high rank, he being the heir to the crown failing the young queen. He had, moreover, become

exceedingly unpopular with the nation, who, pleased with the conciliatory conduct of the queen mother, were disposed to hail with satisfaction any change in the government. Wearied at length with factious commotions and complaints against him, and acting by the advice of the archbishop, whom the queen dowager had gained entirely to her interest, on the 10th of April 1554 he went in his accustomed state to open the Scottish parliament at Edinburgh, and resigned the regency, with which the queen dowager was immediately invested. Arran was elevated to the rank of Duke of Chatelherault, a title which still remains in the noble family of Hamilton, his descendants; and under that designation, the reader of Scottish history will find him subsequently acting a new part in the civil convulsions which rent the kingdom.

The change which had been affected in the government did not, however, promise to the supporters of the protestant doctrines the advantages they afterwards derived. Mary, the queen regent, was of the family of Guise—a house traditionally noted for its bigoted attachment to popery, and was superstitiously devoted to the established system. The young queen was educated in France in its principles; and the influence of the celebrated Cardinal Guise of Lorraine, the new regent's brother, was particularly dreaded, lest there might be an attempt to renew the proceedings against protestants which Cardinal Beaton had instituted with so much severity. Whatever might have been the intentions of the Scottish regent, they were met by a most effectual antidote in the violent proceedings of the English queen. The dreadful persecution which she commenced

induced many to leave their country; numbers of them fled to the continent, and some came into Scotland, who soon mustered in such formidable numbers as to defy the authority of the regent.

Among those who returned to Scotland at this period, was one William Harlow or Harley, who had been originally a tailor in the baronial suburb of Edinburgh called the Canongate, but who had fled into England about the time that Straiton and Gourlay were burnt in that city. In London, it is said, he was admitted into holy orders, and we are informed by Strype that he was one of the six chaplains appointed by king Edward VI. John Willock or Willox, a Franciscan of the town of Ayr, was another who returned to his native country, "and preached," says Bishop Keith, "to as many as resorted to him, who, it is said, were neither few nor of the meaner sort." But the individual who gave the great impulse to the new doctrines was John Knox, who arrived in 1555, and began his vehement declamations against the Romish doctrines. He had been condemned to the galleys in France, along with those found in the castle of St Andrews after the murder of Cardinal Beaton, from which he made his escape into England, where he remained until the death of Edward VI. From England he went to Geneva, and from Geneva to Frankfort-on-the-Main. He was compelled to return to Geneva, and from that city he proceeded to Scotland. His public sermons in Edinburgh soon attracted the notice of the clergy, and he was cited to appear before them in the church of the Black Friars in that city. The prosecution was discontinued against him on account of some informality in the summons; but, on the following year, he was publicly

condemned as a heretic during another expedition to Geneva, and burnt in effigy at the market-cross of Edinburgh. During the two following years, a considerable secession followed from the Romish church, and it was evident that the protestant party was rapidly increasing in numbers. Knox returned to Geneva, where he remained for some time, but he left others behind him, who, although not his equals, were by no means deficient in zeal. Nor were the Scottish protestants scrupulous as to the professions of the individuals among them who assumed the functions of preachers. A man named Methven, a baker in Dundee, who was afterwards excommunicated for fornication, was of this number. Others, however, of more respectable character daily joined them; and in the year 1558, a formidable party had been organized, who called themselves the "*Congregation*," by which name they are known in history, bidding defiance to the queen regent in a kind of civil war.

The accession of men of rank and influence to the party of the protestants still farther increased their influence, and urged them to opposition. While Knox was among them, they persuaded him to write a letter to the regent, denouncing her religion in no measured terms, and which elicited from her the observation, as she carelessly handed it to the archbishop of Glasgow, "Please, my lord, to read a pasquil." It was indeed evident that the regent had no power to cope with the enemies of the now tottering hierarchy. An association had been formed, composed of some of those who were styled "the Lords of the Congregation," whose objects were not so much the reformation of

religion, as the complete overthrow of the establishment, and the plunder of its temporalities. In this association are to be found the names of the Earls of Morton, Argyle, and Glencairn, and James Stuart, then prior of St Andrews. The character of those noblemen and their supporters can be easily appreciated from their subsequent transactions. Yet neither the regent nor the clergy exerted themselves to oppose a party whose projects were not disguised. Already had their wistful eyes been set on the fruitful possessions of the church, and the hope of spoil increased their zeal in promoting the new association. The "Congregation" was termed in their bonds the "Congregation of Christ," and the Romish church the "Congregation of Satan." Various disturbances occasionally took place throughout the country at the annual festivals of the saints, which evinced how completely the minds of the people were becoming alienated from their former creed. The queen had no control, and the clergy little protection; the images of their saints were stolen, mutilated, and destroyed by mobs of disorderly persons, and open defiance was offered both to the civil and the ecclesiastical authority.

Matters continued in this state until the year 1558, when archbishop Hamilton again stained his primacy by an action which we may regard as the finishing blow to the Scoto-papal establishment. The queen regent, alarmed at the critical position of the church, consulted the archbishop as to the most effectual method of resisting the progress of the protestant doctrines, and effectually reducing their adherents. Unwilling to resort to extreme measures, the primate was inclined

rather to adopt persuasive and conciliatory methods; and, indeed, after the execution of the unfortunate tutor of Ormiston, he had interfered little in ecclesiastical affairs, except in remonstrating by letter with some of the more influential noblemen respecting their open protection of those whom he called heretical preachers. It happened this year that an aged ecclesiastic named Walter Mill was apprehended in the town of Dysart in Fife, on a charge of heresy which had been preferred against him during the lifetime of Cardinal Beaton. In his younger years this priest had travelled in Germany, where he became acquainted with some protestants, who, while they did not recommend him to forsake the papal church, considerably unhinged his belief in its dogmas. When he returned, he was appointed to the parish of Lunan in the county of Forfar, and while there he had brought himself under the notice of the cardinal, who in his progress through that county would have secured him, had he not made his escape. Since that period he had managed to conceal himself in various places, and at length his existence was forgotten. Some officious spies, however, gave notice to the archbishop's officers where he was to be found, and he was accordingly carried from Dysart as a prisoner to St Andrews. In an evil hour the archbishop was advised to bring him to trial. He was then eighty-two years of age, and of a feeble and emaciated appearance. He resolutely refused to renounce his opinions, notwithstanding all the exertions made to that effect. The bishops of Moray, Brechin, and Caithness, and the titular archbishop of Athens, who was then bishop of the Isles, the abbots of Dunfermline, Lindores, and Bal-

merino, assisted the primate on this occasion, attended by Winram the subprior, and several members of the university. The trial was held in the cathedral church, and after the usual formality of a sermon, he was desired to answer the questions preferred against him. These chiefly related to the lawfulness of the marriage of priests, the seven sacraments, alleging that the mass was idolatry, denying the spiritual authority and character of the bishops, and his preaching privately in houses and in the fields. He replied to all those charges with a boldness and a vehemence which his bodily appearance and his age by no means indicated, and by a quaintness, almost approximating to ridicule, which astonished his hearers. Sentence was pronounced against him, and he was delivered over to the temporal power for execution. But Learmonth of Dairsie, the provost of the city, refused to involve himself in the odium of the transaction, and prudently withdrew, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the primate. The citizens even refused to furnish ropes to bind the aged martyr, and absolutely shut their doors against the primate's messengers. In this extremity, a person named Sommerville, one of the archbishop's household, and who is described as a "wicked and flagitious man," was induced to usurp the provost's office and see the sentence executed; and the ropes were brought from the archbishop's own residence to bind the prisoner. On the following day he was led to the stake, chanting as he went along, *Introibo ad altare Dei*; and addressing the bystanders, he desired their prayers, and evinced a courage and resolution which made a deep impression. "As for me," he said, "I am fourscore and two years

old, and cannot live long by the course of nature, but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones. I trust in God I shall be the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for religion." The fire was then kindled, and he was consumed to ashes.

The prayer of this aged victim was granted: he was the last who was put to death by the papal authority in Scotland. The citizens of St Andrews testified their abhorrence of this tragedy by raising a pile of stones on the spot where he had been burnt. This pile or cairn was often removed, and as often replaced, until a guard was placed for some weeks over the spot to prevent a repetition of the attempt.

The death of this individual was the finishing blow to the papal authority in Scotland. Nothing could exceed the indignation of the people at the proceedings; remonstrances were addressed to the regent, and the breach between her and the leaders of the protestant party was now wide and irreconcilable. At one time she dissimulated, and at another openly denounced them, until at length they organized themselves into new associations for defence and protection. She summoned a provincial synod of the clergy at Edinburgh, but their deliberations differed little from those of former councils. Several persons prosecuted for heresy were condemned to make a public recantation at the market-cross of Edinburgh, a sentence which, it is almost needless to observe, they utterly disregarded. Erskine of Dun appeared before the synod on the part of the protestants, beseeching the bishops to desist from persecution, and to comply with the requests of the people respecting the public services of the church being performed in the com-

mon tongue. These requests were rejected; the decrees of the Council of Trent were again declared obligatory on the church of Scotland; some enactments were made and passed relative to the observance of celibacy; and Hepburn, bishop of Moray, imagining them to be applicable to him, justified his own conduct by referring to the example of the archbishop himself. The poems of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount were also condemned. This was the last provincial synod of the Romish church held in Scotland.

The whole country was now in a commotion, and the regent was threatened with a civil war. While the provincial synod continued to sit at Edinburgh, the protestants had taken possession of the city of Perth, where they openly professed the reformed doctrines and worship. Enraged at this procedure, the regent ordered Lord Ruthven, the provost, to suppress those assemblies; but that nobleman represented to her the impossibility of doing it, and also his own unwillingness to proceed against the citizens in matters of conscience. "He would make their bodies and goods," he replied, "subject to her, but as for their consciences, he had no power over them." Vowing vengeance against both him and them, she ordered Halyburton, provost of Dundee, to apprehend the preacher Methven, whom she deemed one of the most active incendiaries, and send him to her a prisoner; but the provost gave notice to Methven, and he escaped out of the town. A general citation of all the preachers to appear before her at Stirling was issued; they did not of course appear, and they were denounced rebels. Such was the state of affairs, when Knox returned to Scotland in the beginning of May 1559. The sword was

now appealed to by both parties, the one to punish rebellion, the other in self-defence. A daring spirit of tumult was abroad; every day added to the number of the protestants, and thus was the ancient hierarchy of Scotland brought to the very eve of dissolution.

It may be easily conceived that the appearance of John Knox at this crisis was not at all likely to allay the inflammable resentments of the contending parties. The greatest part of the important counties of Perth, Forfar, and Fife, were in a complete state of insurrection, and the preachers, who had now considerably increased, were busy every where in disseminating their principles under the protection of some feudal barons. These counties, moreover, abounded in opulent towns, some of them the most populous in the kingdom, which had become the strongholds of the protestants, even where the influence of the church was powerful. Knox had received pressing letters during the previous year, from the leaders of the "Congregation," as they called themselves, relative to the state of affairs in Scotland, for they knew the effect which his vehement eloquence would have on the minds of the people beyond that of the other preachers, and how much his boldness and intrepidity could serve them in the position in which they had placed themselves. To have his aid at this extremity was of essential importance; and lest Knox might decline or delay, they also wrote to his friend and adviser Calvin, at Geneva, beseeching him to use his influence to induce Knox to return. These letters were, of course, expressed in the most saintly manner, as if the eternal salvation of the kingdom depended on the disciple of the Geneva lawyer; but in reality the leaders

were afraid of their own situation, and required Knox to assist them in their worldly and covetous projects against the temporalities of the church. Knox, who was too disinterested to imagine for a moment that they were actuated by such selfish principles, lost no time in complying with the request of his friends in Scotland. He arrived at Leith on the 2d of May, while the provincial synod was sitting, and after remaining two nights in Edinburgh, he departed for Dundee, where many of his admirers had congregated together. His arrival was soon made known to the queen regent, by whom he was immediately denounced a rebel and an outlaw. Regardless of these serious measures, however, Knox hastened through the Carse of Gowrie to Perth, the head quarters of the confederated protestants, and arrived in the "Fair City" opportunely, and, as bishop Keith quaintly remarks, at the "nick of time."

The day of Knox's arrival in Perth was on Wednesday the 10th of May 1559, the day on which the preachers and the protestant leaders had been declared rebels by the regent. He found in the city of Perth a vast concourse of people; and it was evident that they were irritated to the utmost pitch of exasperation against the Romish clergy and the government. Erskine of Dun also returned from Stirling on that very day, greatly incensed against the queen regent, whom he accused of duplicity, and of secretly meditating the destruction of all the protestants. This gentleman was perhaps the most moderate and consistent of all the protestant leaders. Long attached to the principles of the Reformation, he possessed considerable influence in the "Congregation," and was greatly beloved by the people. He informed

them of the situation in which they were now placed; that having been declared rebels, they were liable to the penalties of high treason; that their lives were therefore in the utmost jeopardy; that prosecuted by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, it became them either to submit unconditionally to the regent, or boldly to assume a defensive attitude, and demand a sufficient security for their lives, their liberties, and religion. At the same time he entreated them to ponder well the consequences of a civil war; and before they engaged in it to provide both for its consequences and its disasters.

Such an address, delivered by a man of rank universally popular for his integrity and consistency, made a deep impression on the assembled multitude. They at once perceived their critical situation, but were by no means alarmed at the steps they had hitherto taken. On the following day (Thursday the 11th), which, it is worthy of remark, has been a day of weekly commemoration at Perth ever since, Knox took possession of St John's church in that city, in which a large congregation had assembled.—“ That spacious building, not shorn as now of its fair proportions, nor cut down into separate apartments, but forming one simple and majestic temple, was, long ere the speaker appeared, thronged in every part, save in those divisions of the aisles which were set apart for the altars and shrines of the several saints, to whose service the wealth of not a few substantial burghers and powerful barons had at various times been dedicated. Within the little sanctuaries many a churchman now stood, looking with no benignant eye on the crowds who occupied the steps, or pressed irreverently against the balustrades, which they until now

were wont to approach with bended knee. Within the pale of the altar a number of the priests stood in a line in front, clothed in their gorgeous vestments, as if to overawe the multitude by the splendour with which the altar and its attendants were adorned, but they looked in vain for the homage of the once subservient crowd.”*

A noise and movement of the crowd between the gate and the pulpit, which stood at the west end of the choir against one of the centre pillars which supported the tower, announced the entrance of Knox and his friends. The inflexible reformer was accompanied by some of the leaders of the “*Congregation*,” among whom were the Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St Andrews, who withdrew to one of the aisles, while Erskine of Dun, Ogilvie of Invercarity, and Scott of Abbotshall, advanced with him to the foot of the pulpit stair, and seated themselves on a few narrow benches around.

At first the manner of Knox, when he commenced his sermon, appeared confused and hesitating. His voice was naturally weak, and his frame emaciated and nervous; but as he proceeded to expatiate on the state of the church, and declaimed in the most unmeasured terms against the doctrines and observances of popery, he seemed to undergo a change, and strength and animation

* Colonel Murray’s “*Sketches of Scenes in Scotland*,” 4to. It is proper to observe that the principal facts in the above narrative respecting the demolition of the religious houses of Perth, are taken from an exquisite narrative inserted in the above truly national and valuable work, which “was obtained,” observes Colonel Murray, “many years since from a lady, a descendant of Principal Tullideph of St Andrews, one of whose ancestors, in his youth, had warmly espoused the cause of the Reformation.” The narrative as inserted by the gallant author is given in the form of a local story, and possesses great interest; but in the present work our object is facts, with which the story abounds.

succeeded his doubtful and hesitating manner. "With the energy of the preacher," we are told, "the attention of the assembly awoke; every eye was fixed upon him; every word seemed to find its way to their bosoms: calling up the most marked expressions of enthusiasm and approbation from the great mass of the crowd, and of stern defiance among the priests, whom the fervour of his address brought by degrees out of the lateral recesses, and who were now seen peering from among the protecting balustrades. From contrasting the present with the past state of the church, he proceeded to hurl against her the sublime denunciations of the Old Testament prophets against Babylon, confirming them with the anathemas against her spiritual antitype from the Revelation; and as he quoted the passage in which an angel is represented as casting down a great millstone, and pronouncing—'Thus with violence shall Babylon be thrown down;' the pulpit seemed to yield with the almost frantic energy by which he was agitated. Had he ceased at that moment, the enthusiastic feelings of the auditory were so wound up, that nothing could have withheld them from executing literally on the monuments around them the predictions of the prophets. But gradually subsiding from this enthusiatic tone, he addressed himself to his hearers, and closed by exhorting them to put away the unclean thing from among them. So rapt were the audience, that Knox withdrew from the church with the attendant noblemen almost unobserved, and for some time afterwards the people stood as if expecting the preacher again to appear amongst them."

It is to be observed that, although the protestant clergy made it a practice of occupying the parish

churches in the most unceremonious manner, without leave asked or given, the decorations and ornaments of these churches had been hitherto preserved, and treated with respect. Their custom was simply to preach a sermon, without holding any previous act of divine worship; and the facility with which they obtained possession of the churches on such occasions, is accounted for from the increasing numbers of persons who now attended, and whose determination it would have been vain on the part of the Romish clergy to oppose; and also from the circumstance that in popish countries the churches are always open. On this occasion, after Knox had concluded his sermon, and "the better sort," as he observes, "had gone to dinner," a great proportion of the auditors still remained in the church. A movement was observed towards the shrine, and thither the eyes of the bystanders were directed. In front of a low altar, surmounted by an ebony crucifix, on which a figure of our Saviour was exquisitely carved, several priests in their vestments kneeled, and the usual preparations for the celebration of mass commenced. The tapers, we are told, were lit; and as the priests began a chaunt, which was responded to by voices in the opposite aisle, a curtain behind the crucifix slowly rose, and disclosed a picture representing the martyrdom of St Bartholomew. The scene was not without its effect; and a few of the crowd instinctively did reverence. At the instant, when a priest was elevating the Host, a young man observed to his companions, "Down with the profane mummary! Shall we stand by and see that practised which God in his word has plainly condemned as idolatry?" He was overheard by a priest, who exclaimed, "Blasphemer!" and

struck him to the ground. The young man rose in an instant, and seizing a missile, dashed it against the painting of St Bartholomew. This was the signal for a general attack. As if the popish service had been to them a novelty which they had never before witnessed, the multitude in the choir rushed towards the shrine of St Bartholomew, attacked the priests, tore off their vestments, and beat them so unmercifully, that they narrowly escaped with their lives, ere they could arise from their prostrate attitude. Every article in the church, the altars belonging to the incorporations of the city, dedicated to particular saints, images, pictures, vestments, and utensils, were destroyed; and so speedily was it done, that few of the citizens knew any thing of the matter.

But the tidings of this outrage soon spread over the city, and one hour had not elapsed before an immense multitude congregated together ready for action; and, finding every thing demolished in St John's church, and nothing left but the bare walls, they turned their attention to the religious houses and monasteries. Knox is at some pains to inform us that this mob did not consist of the "gentilmen, nouthor of them that were earnest professors," but the "rascall multitude;" and it is traditionally said that it was chiefly composed of the citizens of Dundee, many of whom attended this great rendezvous at Perth. The "Fair City," before the Reformation, was, as it still is, well deserving of that cognomen. The splendid religious edifices denoted the wealth of their inhabitants, and their towers rose proudly in every direction. The Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, or White Friars, rivalled each other in splendour, while the princely Charterhouse was excelled by few

ecclesiastical buildings in the kingdom. Chapels of various descriptions, dedicated to particular saints, abounded throughout the city. The inmates of the monasteries, anticipating a visitation from the mob, prepared to defend themselves. Vain was the attempt; the multitude, after hearing a prayer from Knox, who was again amongst them, moved from St John's church in the direction of the Grey Friars, or Franciscan monastery, which stood without the walls of Perth.* The clouds of dust from the crumbling walls soon indicated that the work of destruction had commenced. They then proceeded to the Charterhouse, the only Carthusian establishment in Scotland, founded by James I. in 1429. Here they found the gates fastened within. "Come out, ye men of Belial! ye slaves of Jezebel!" was the exclamation of the assailants, but no voice answered their call. The prior had hastily collected some of his tenants and retainers for the defence of the building, and took no notice of the unceremonious summons. They burst open the gate with a large wooden cross which they pulled out of the ground outside the walls, and thus obtained possession of the edifice. The place was abandoned by the monks, the prior being permitted, however, to carry away all the valuables he could collect; and in a few hours one of the noblest edifices in Scotland was gutted and demolished. The monastery of the Dominicans, or Black Friars, founded by Alexander II. in 1231, that of the White Friars, founded in the reign of Alexander, and a number of chapels and nunneries, shared the same fate. In the course of two days, they were all either

* Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 203, folio edit.

levelled with the ground, or appeared as melancholy memorials of popular excitement and outrage. Notwithstanding the vows of poverty which the various orders of monks professed, their storehouses presented no inconsiderable temptations to this "rascall multitude."—"Unless honest men had seen the same," says Knox, "we would have feared to report what provision they had. Their sheets, blankets, beds, and coverings, were so rich, that no earl could boast of better. Their napery was fine. They had eight puncheons of salt beef, wines, beer, and ale, besides store of victuals of all kinds." The like plenty, he observes, was not found among the Black Friars, yet there was more than necessary for men professing poverty. Knox records these incidents as proofs of the sensuality and luxury of the monks, which may have been the case; but it must be recollected that there were numerous claims upon them by noblemen and others, who insisted on being entertained by them in profusion, and who usually quartered themselves and their dependants in the monasteries. It was this practice of the ancient barons which made the monks repeatedly complain of the expenses they were obliged to incur. There is a curious complaint to this effect extant, preferred by the abbot and community of Arbroath, who were often specially inflicted with those unwelcome guests.

This was the forerunner of that general destruction of the cathedrals, churches, and monasteries in Scotland, which we are about to describe. After gratifying their destructive propensities by the demolition of every religious building in Perth except St John's church, which they found it necessary to preserve for the pur-

pose of preaching, a number of the country people returned to their districts, and Knox was appointed to remain "and instruct the citizens, because they were young, and rude in Christ." But the bold reformer, whose vehement eloquence was partly the cause of this melancholy riot—for it must also be acknowledged that the imprudence of the priests in St John's church had no inconsiderable share in it—was soon called to other scenes of a still more serious and alarming nature.

CHAPTER X.

DEMOLITION OF THE SCOTTISH MONASTERIES.

THE queen regent heard of the outrages at Perth with astonishment and exasperation. Several measures were adopted by her council, threatening vengeance against the insurgent noblemen, the preachers, and their adherents, which were utterly disregarded by those against whom they were directed. It was evident to every individual that the Romish power was daily becoming weaker, while the protestants were rapidly increasing in strength and numbers. "God did so multiply them," says Knox, "that it appears as if men had dropped from the clouds." The outrageous insurrection at Perth was merely the commencement of the work of destruction; for the assailants now adopted the idea that the very stones and lime were infected with popish superstition, and that the most efficacious mode of *rooting out* their enemies was to destroy the churches and religious edifices.

The example of Perth was first imitated in Cupar, the county town of Fife. In that town there were two religious establishments, besides the parish church—a convent of Dominicans, in which was a very fine chapel, and a nunnery dedicated to St Catherine of Sienna. Some inhabitants of the town had been at Perth, and took an active part with the mob in the work of destruc-

tion perpetrated in that city. Returning to Cupar, which is upwards of twenty miles distant from Perth, glorying in their exploits, they infected their fellow townsmen with the same enthusiasm. A mob was speedily collected, and attacking the edifices we have mentioned, they completely demolished them, leaving the fine steeple of the parish church, which still remains, as the solitary trophy of their victory. In this town, as in Perth, the stones and timber were carried away by the assailants, and the spoils divided among them. The incumbent of the parish was so grieved at the outrage, that he committed suicide in despair.*

The aspect of affairs was now most alarming, and the regent summoned her troops, and proceeded to the scene of destruction. But the insurgents, headed by some of the most powerful of the barons, also took the field on the defensive, maintaining that they were compelled to do so by the tyranny of the regent, and for the security of religion. Knox, who had been left at Perth, followed them in their march through Fife, and met a number of the leading protestants at Crail, a town on the south east extremity of the county, near Fifeness. In this ancient and now deserted little borough, there was one of the collegiate establishments called provostries, consisting of a provost, who was the superior, a sacrist, ten prebendaries, and some singing boys. According to his usual custom, Knox took possession of the church, and delivered one of his vehement sermons to his auditors, in which he distinctly declared, after a furious tirade against the queen regent, that all attempts at conciliation between the contending parties were hopeless—that

* Spottiswood, p. 122.

one or other of them must become masters—and that they must resolve either to die like men or live in the enjoyment of victory. The oratory of this singular man had the same effect on the quiet and simple burghers of Crail as it had on the more boisterous citizens of Perth and Dundee. They simultaneously rose and commenced a general purification of the town, destroying the altars, images, and the decorations of the church, but they were prudent enough to leave the building untouched. On the following day this destructive party, now most formidable in numbers, and threatening dreadful vengeance against all who should oppose them, left Crail, and proceeding westward along the coast, they arrived at Anstruther, a small seaport borough about four miles from that town. There they made similar havoc, destroying or mutilating every thing connected with the popish religion. From Anstruther they proceeded to Pittenweem, another seaport borough about a mile distant, while a detachment of them went to St Monance, a parish and fishing village two miles farther west, where they purified the ancient church dedicated to St Monance, that is, they gutted it of every article which it contained. In Pittenweem there was a priory of canons-regular of the order of St Augustine, of considerable extent and importance, and a cell dedicated to the Virgin Mary belonging to the mitred abbey of St Andrews. The superior of the priory had made himself peculiarly obnoxious to the assailants in former years by his zeal in assisting at the trial and condemnation of the individuals who were burnt at St Andrews, and his priory was a special object of the popular fury. He was at first disposed to resist the insurgents, but finding them too numerous, he was

obliged to leave the town. They immediately demolished the church, the cell, and a considerable part of the ancient priory, leaving only a portion of the dwellings entire.

But the assailants began to extend their plans, and they meditated a general attack on the city of St Andrews, from which they were at this time distant only ten miles. They had many inducements to proceed thither. The cathedral, the priory, the monasteries, were peculiarly enticing to their destructive propensities; it was, moreover, the seat of the primate—the ecclesiastical metropolis of Scotland, and they imagined it would be a master-stroke of policy to *purify* that city, while it would strike their adversaries with dismay. After their perambulation of the south-east of Fife, Knox intimated to his followers his determination to proceed to St Andrews, and preach in the cathedral on the ensuing Sunday. This bold resolution was heard with surprise by the people, but they nevertheless declared that they would accompany their favourite preacher. An intimation of Knox's intention was by some means conveyed to archbishop Hamilton, who was then at Falkland Palace with the queen regent. He immediately set out for St Andrews at the head of one hundred armed men from the royal troops. But the archbishop, on his arrival, observing the disaffected inclination of the citizens, and receiving an exaggerated statement of the numbers who followed Knox, saw with deep regret that resistance was impossible, and returned, disconsolate and mortified, on the following morning to the regent at Falkland. Knox, with the multitude behind him, were in the meantime advancing towards the city, and when they came to the

heights from which its venerable towers are first seen, about two miles distant, they raised a loud shout of exultation and defiance. Yet the insurgents were not without apprehensions of bloodshed, and they earnestly entreated Knox to desist from taking possession of the cathedral, or from preaching at all in St Andrews, representing to him that, as the regent was only twenty miles distant at Falkland with a considerable army, some disaster might befall him. But to these prudential suggestions he would not listen. He told them that it was in St Andrews he had first been set apart to the clerical office, and that he had often predicted, when in exile, that he would preach there before his death. Thus resolved, he entered the city on Sunday, the 10th of June 1559, and proceeded immediately to the cathedral, which was deserted by the clergy, and which seemed as if given up to the mob. He entered the pulpit, and selected for the subject of his discourse the narrative in the evangelical history, which describes our Saviour expelling the buyers and sellers from the Temple of Jerusalem. This discourse, the phraseology of which was suited to the capacities of his rude and turbulent audience, who were furiously irritated by the preacher's frequent allusions to former archbishops, especially to the persecutions of Cardinal Beaton, had the desired effect. After the sermon was concluded, the excited mob, although it was Sunday, proceeded to their work of destruction. The magnificent cathedral, the building and finishing of which occupied one hundred and sixty years, with its stately towers and shining copper roof,*

* "The roof of the cathedral was covered with sheets of copper, which, when struck by the rays of the sun, had a most brilliant and beautiful effect at a distance."—*Grierson's Hist. of St Andrews*, p. 125.

fell before some thousands of enraged enthusiasts, urged by Knox to this sacrilegious destruction. It is enough to say that it was completely gutted, dismantled, and destroyed, and reduced in a few hours to a melancholy ruin, from which it was impossible to be recovered. It was on this occasion that Knox is alleged to have uttered his celebrated saying, when he beheld the attack on the cathedral, "Down with the nests, and the rooks will fly away." But the reader who is familiar with St Andrews must not conclude that the assailants reduced it to its present ruin. That was the subsequent work of the citizens themselves, who, when they wanted to build a house, or a wall or dyke, resorted to it for materials as they would have done to a quarry. A minute examination of St Andrews sufficiently proves that many of the houses are built of the stones of the cathedral and the monasteries.

While one party of the insurgents was thus engaged in demolishing the cathedral, other detachments of them perambulated the city in various directions, assailing the other religious fabrics. The churches in the city were spoiled, the monasteries of the Dominicans and Franciscans, the noble Augustine priory, and the establishment in the vicinity called the provostry of Kirkheugh, were all destroyed, dismantled, or levelled to the ground. With a zeal and perseverance worthy of a better cause, and truly astonishing, the assailants persisted throughout the whole of that Sunday, and during the night, in their work of destruction, often exposing their lives to the most fearful danger by the falling of heavy masses of building, and stones of immense size. Encouraged by

the exhortations of their leaders on the duty of overthrowing idolatry, and stimulated by frequent allusions to the actions of the Jews in the Old Testament history, the insurgents were excited to the highest pitch of madness. On the morning of the following day St Andrews had the appearance of a ruined and depopulated city.

When the tidings of this new and aggravated tumult were brought to the regent at Falkland, she instantly summoned her troops, and resolved to attack the insurgents in St Andrews. But it was now too late. Force was opposed to force: she was compelled to negotiate a truce with the triumphant leaders, who, taking advantage of this temporary cessation, retreated to Perth. On their route to that city, they dismantled the abbeyes of Lindores and Balmerino on the Fifeshire banks of the Tay, expelling the ecclesiastics, pillaging their residences, and rendering every edifice of whatsoever description, whether large or small, so ruinous, that the repair of it was impossible. The western district of the county of Fife only remained to be visited, which they resolved to do at a convenient time. At Perth they concerted their future operations, and it was decided that all the other cathedrals and monasteries throughout the kingdom should be destroyed.

Agreeable to this resolution, having left nothing in Perth to excite their resentment, the victorious assailants determined to visit the ancient abbey of Scone, where the kings of Scotland were crowned. This abbey, founded by Alexander I. in 1114, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St Michael, belonged to a community of Augustine monks. Beautifully situated about two

miles from Perth in an extensive plain, sloping gently towards the Tay, this fine abbey rose amid the rustic village of the same name, inhabited by the domestics and dependents of the establishment. Bishop Hepburn of Moray was at that time its abbot or superior, and it was suggested at a special meeting that "*some course*" should be taken with that prelate, because he had threatened to attack the reformers in the city of Perth. A message was sent to him, intimating that unless he came forward and assisted the protestants, his abbey was in jeopardy. He affected to comply with the request, but whether his answer was received when it was too late, or whether his sincerity was suspected, is uncertain. A mob, consisting chiefly of the burghers of Perth, incited by the insurgents from the neighbouring town of Dundee, marched from Perth to destroy the abbey. This rabble had undertaken the expedition, not only without the sanction, but without even the knowledge, of the protestant leaders in Perth, who, when they discovered their intentions, sent first the provost of Dundee and his brother, and afterwards John Knox, to dissuade them from the meditated destruction of the building. But those personages, even Knox himself, possessed little influence with a mob whose passions they had been the means of exciting; and by the time they arrived at Scone, they found that the insurgents had actually begun an attack on the edifice. The Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stuart, then called the Prior of St Andrews, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Moray, hastened after the insurgents with all speed, and arrived in time to save the abbey for that day, the mob contenting themselves with destroying the images, altars,

vestments, and other articles which they found in the church. As, however, an expedition into the southern districts of the kingdom against the monasteries had been projected and arranged under the command of the Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St Andrews, those two noblemen were obliged to leave them, it being their intention to march from Perth on their southern crusade that night, on account of some intelligence they had received from Stirling, but they carried with them the most turbulent of the assailants, and left the rest under the command of Knox. But the reformer, by his own admission, had great difficulty in restraining them from a fresh attack, and in this condition they remained during the night. On the following morning a reinforcement of the rioters arrived from Perth, who circulated a report that one of the citizens of Dundee had been killed by an illegitimate son of bishop Hepburn, the abbot of the place, while prowling about for spoil. This so enraged the burghers of Dundee, who were by far the more numerous party, that they threatened to desert the cause if they were not assisted by the citizens of Perth to revenge the death of their townsman. The result was the total destruction of the abbey by fire, amid the shouts and exultations of the assailants.

The Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St Andrews had left Perth at the head of three hundred men for Stirling and the southern counties, on the evening before the above conflagration, and were consequently on their march while it was proceeding on the ensuing day. Each man of the Earl of Argyle's party had a rope or halter about his neck, and the reason they assigned for this singular decoration was, that they intended to hang all who fled or deserted from them, and also that it was

an emblem of their own resolution, that they were determined either to conquer or die in the struggle. Hence originated the soubriquet of *St Johnstone's ribbands*, still applied to halters in Scotland. Marching all night, they came early in the morning in sight of Stirling, which is about thirty miles distant from Perth. This crusade had been expected by the queen regent, who was still at Falkland Palace, and she resolved to anticipate them by stationing a body of troops at Stirling Bridge immediately under the castle, and the only bridge by which they could cross the Forth; but their adherents on the south side of that river, having intelligence of this plan of the regent, sent timely notice to Perth, which occasioned the sudden march of the Earl and the Prior.

Argyle and the Prior entered Stirling without any opposition, the usual garrison in the castle not deeming it expedient to hazard an engagement with men excited by enthusiastic zeal. In Stirling there were some religious establishments of considerable extent and wealth, the chief of which were the monasteries of the Dominicans and the Franciscans. These, with the exception of the church of the Franciscans, a fine old edifice, which still remains, and is used as the parish church, were pulled to the ground. The church, which they had the prudence to spare, was stripped of its ornaments and decorations, or, in their language, *purified* from the monuments of idolatry, in which they were willingly assisted by the inhabitants of the town.

In order to save time, and to be more speedy and secure in the work of destruction, they divided themselves into parties, to scour the adjacent country, and purify it from all monuments of idolatry. Immediately

below the town of Stirling, but in the adjoining parish of Logie, and on the opposite side of the Forth, stood the beautiful and magnificent abbey of Cambuskenneth, founded by king David I. in 1147, on one of the almost peninsular plains formed by the remarkable windings of the river. This abbey, an extensive pile of building, the noble tower of which still appears, in solitary and ruined grandeur, a striking object to the visiter of Stirling, the *Windsor* of the Scottish kings, was a tempting object to the assailants, and was accordingly marked for destruction. A party of them, aided by a considerable number of the citizens of Stirling, who had some private quarrels with the monks, crossed the Forth from the town to destroy it. The unfortunate ecclesiastics could offer no resistance. In the course of one day the whole was dismantled and reduced to a mass of ruins, except the great tower to which we have alluded. Books, charters, and other documents found in the abbey, were mutilated, burnt, or destroyed; and the other valuable spoil was divided among the assailants. It is curious that the only article they wished to preserve was the large bell belonging to the abbey. They got it lifted into a boat, with the intention of carrying it to Stirling, but its weight sunk the boat, and the ancient bell of Cambuskenneth abbey lies at this day in the bed of the Forth.

While this party was engaged at Cambuskenneth, another, under the special command of the Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St Andrews, marched to the episcopal city of Dunblane, about seven miles northwest from Stirling. The cathedral was founded by David I. in 1142, and was of considerable extent, being 216 feet in length, 76 feet in breadth, and 50 feet in height.

Although the bishopric was the poorest in Scotland, the cathedral was a building of great magnificence, which is evident from its remains, especially the choir, now used as the parish church. The bishop of the see, William Chisholm, whom we have often mentioned, was peculiarly hated by the protestants; and the destruction of his cathedral was inevitable. He was then absent with the queen regent; but even if he had been present, his resistance would have been fruitless. The following account of the demolition of this cathedral, quoted from a work* to which we have already referred, is interesting, and may be appropriately inserted in this place.

“ On a beautiful morning towards the end of June, 1559, as the people were attending mass in the cathedral, a noise as of armed men was heard within the surrounding court. Presently a band of warriors entered by the western portal, and advanced towards the choir in two lines, the one led by the Earl of Argyle, and the other by the Prior of St Andrews. The worshippers in the body of the church, rising from their prostrations, retreated into the aisles, while those within the choir, forgetting their devotions, rose up and turned with inquiring eyes towards the intruders, who, halting in their double array, nearly filled the body of the cathedral. Their appearance was every way calculated to excite the curiosity of the spectators. Some of them were completely armed, while the greater part wore the guise of citizens, who seemed to have taken up arms in a moment of excitement or alarm: but whatever diversities in other

* Lieutenant-Colonel Murray's (younger of Ochertyre) “Sketches,” published at Perth.

respects were visible, in one part of their dress, and it was a truly singular one, they were alike—a rope or *halter* was suspended around the neck of each! One of the officials at the altar, descending the steps, and advancing towards the balustrade which divided the choir from the main body of the church, said, ‘My lord of Argyle, and you my lord Prior, what means this martial array in the house of God, and what the symbols your followers wear? Methinks, if they betoken penance, it were fitter to enter this threshold as suppliants than as conquerors!’ ‘We come, dean,’ replied the Earl, ‘to set forward the reformation of religion according to God’s word, and to purify this kirk; and, in name of the Congregation, warn and charge you, that whatsoever person shall plainly resist these our enterprises, we, by the authority of the Council, will reduce them to their duty.’ ‘And, moreover,’ added the Prior, ‘we, with three hundred burgesses of Perth whom ye see here, have banded ourselves together in the kirk of St John, now purified from idolatry, and bound ourselves by a great oath, that we are willing to part with life, as these symbols around our necks testify, if we turn back from this our holy calling, or desist from this our enterprise until we have purged the land. So therefore shall we, with all the force and power which God shall grant unto us, execute just vengeance and punishment upon you; yea, we shall begin that same war which it was commanded the Israelites to execute against the Canaanites, that is, contract of peace shall never be made till ye desist from your open idolatry and cruel persecution of God’s children.’ ‘We are here in the peaceable exercise of our holy religion,’ replied the dean; ‘if there be persecutors within these walls,

they who violate the sanctuary are the men.'—'Peace!' interrupted the Prior, 'we are not here to wrangle, but to see the commands of the Council executed. Say if ye and your brethren are willing to obey, and of your own consent to remove the stumbling-blocks, even these monuments of idolatry?' 'Most reverend father, and you most puissant earl,' answered the churchman, 'we that are here are but servants or menials, so to speak; whatsoever our will may be, our power reacheth not to the things whereof ye speak. Our beloved bishop is even now with the queen regent, conferring, doubtless, on these weighty matters. To him your request shall be made known, and by his orders we shall abide and act.' The Prior and the Earl conferred a short time together, when the latter again addressed the dean, 'We are even now on an expedition of great weight and moment which brooketh not delay, and but turned aside to warn the lieges of Dunblane of the danger of upholding the errors and enticements of papistry, else we had not departed without leaving this house stripped of these vain trappings. Ye are now in our hands, time presseth, and we cannot trust William Chisholm. He hath bent himself too pliantly to the will of that woman who still teacheth the people of this land to eat things sacrificed unto idols: yet we would not have it said that the people here assembled, and whom ye yet strive to deceive, were not allowed time to repent of their evil ways. This, therefore, will we do:—We will not advance beyond this barrier, nor disturb those who are assembled within it, but with our own hands we will cast down the images and destroy the altars which on every side ye have reared to the gods of your own making; and let the desolation

now to be executed be an earnest of that which awaits not only the place where you stand, but every high place and every abominable thing within the land.' The words were scarcely out of the speaker's mouth, when the shrines were entered, the images and pictures displaced, and trampled under foot. 'To the brook with them,' cried the Prior; and the armed multitude, rushing out at the portal by which they had entered, bore the relics to the banks of the Allan, and cast them in. It was the work but of a few moments, and the troops were again marshalled, and on their march to Stirling. The multitude within the choir saw what passed with an air of stupified surprise; and leaving the services of the morning unfinished, gradually withdrew to their respective houses, wondering at the things which they had witnessed."

The protestants and their leaders occupied Stirling for three days, during which time they completely *purified* the adjacent country. They then proceeded on their route towards Edinburgh, with the intention of making similar havoc in the metropolis. So alarmed were the people of the districts through which they passed, that no opposition was offered to them, and they seem to have acted as absolute masters of the country. From this circumstance, we may form some idea of the inefficiency and wretched nature of the government, which could behold such destruction of property, and yet be totally incapable of extending protection, checking the progress of destruction, or of punishing the ringleaders. The ancient borough of Linlithgow, the only town of any consequence in their march between Stirling and Edinburgh, received a passing visit similar to that of the

former. They did not attack the palace or its chapel, but they *purified* the church dedicated to St Michael, and plundered the ecclesiastics in the town of every article of value.

On their arrival in Edinburgh, they found that they had been anticipated in their demolishing vocation by the citizens themselves. The images and altars had been already destroyed in the principal church of the city dedicated to St Giles, and the protestant interest was strong among the inhabitants. The ecclesiastical establishments in Edinburgh were numerous and extensive. There were the monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars, besides the abbey of Holyroodhouse, a nunnery, various minor oratories, chapels or hospitals, and convents. The magistrates had seized them all, dismissed their inmates, and appropriated their revenues to the use of the city. The sacred utensils belonging to the church of St Giles were also seized by those functionaries. Among these were a pretended arm of St Giles, enshrined in massive silver—a gift to the city by Preston of Craigmillar; a silver chalice, or communion cup; a golden bell and unicorn; a gold pix to preserve the host; a small gold heart with two pearls; a diamond ring; a silver chalice, patine, and spoon; a round silver eucharist; two silver censers; a silver ship for incense; a large silver cross; and a considerable assortment of silver plate, candlesticks, chalices of various descriptions, gold and silver brocaded vestments, and other costly and valuable articles. All these were sold, and, after defraying the expenses of fitting up the church according to the protestant mode, the surplus was added to the funds of the corporation. The assailants, therefore, thus anticipated

by the civic authorities, had nothing to do in Edinburgh. Several religious buildings were, however, dilapidated; the houses of the prebendaries of Trinity College Church, at the foot of the street called Leith Wynd, according to bishop Leslie, were pillaged and destroyed; and they afterwards plundered the abbey of Holyroodhouse.

Emboldened by these successes, headed by men of rank, and daily increasing in numbers, the mania of destruction spread into the provinces. In the south of Scotland little remained for them to do, the English during the invasion a few years previous having burnt the abbeys of Kelso, Melrose, and Jedburgh, and a considerable number of churches and religious houses, as well as towns and villages. From the effect of that invasion the southern counties had not at this period recovered. If these magnificent structures had been entire, they would unquestionably have fallen before the now formidable reformers; but the revenues of these and other monasteries were seized by the lords of the protestant party this year, and committed in trust to the Duke of Chatelherault, who had now joined the "Congregation," better known by his former title of Earl of Arran. The monks saw their communities dispersed, their possessions alienated, their beautiful churches, their ancient halls and cloisters in ruins, and what had escaped the calamity of war prostrated by the violence of fanaticism. The southern counties of Scotland thus possessed few objects of attraction to the mob; while plunder on a more extensive scale was secretly projected by the various noblemen and barons belonging to those districts, and the lands and temporalities of the tottering church were beheld with cupidity by men who saw

that it was either necessary to meet the spirit of the times, or who thought that something valuable might be gained from a general scramble. In Glasgow the work of destruction was attempted, although the massive cathedral there was not threatened until nearly twenty years afterwards. Arran entered Glasgow at the head of a number of his followers, and after destroying the interior of the churches, seized for a short time the palace of the archbishop. The greater part of the abbey of Paisley was demolished, and some religious houses in various quarters of the county. But the greatest havoc took place north of the Forth and the Tay. A band of insurgents proceeded towards the town of Arbroath in Forfarshire, and, aided by a considerable number of persons belonging to the county, they demolished the magnificent abbey in that town by fire, and its revenues and estates were appropriated to a son of the Duke of Chatelherault. A tradition exists in that town to this day, that the leaden roof of the abbey, when melted by the devouring element, poured forth a stream of burning liquid through the streets like water. Having accomplished this object, the assailants, after *purifying* the adjacent towns and villages, proceeded onwards to Aberdeen, joined in their course by a vast number of persons from the shire of Kincardine. The citizens of Aberdeen were by no means zealous in the cause of the Reformation; and bishop Leslie, who was then connected with the cathedral, assures us that the Romish service was retained in that city long after it had been suppressed in all other parts of the kingdom. The southern protestants, therefore, thought it expedient to visit them,

and urge them to imitate their own zeal in favour of their principles.

The magistrates of Aberdeen ascertained that the zealous were approaching that city with the intention of demolishing the cathedral, and plundering it of its utensils and ornaments. Although favourable to the protestant cause, those sagacious functionaries were nevertheless distrustful of the moderation of their visitors; they had heard too much of their exploits in other cities and towns, and they took especial care to secure the archives of the city and the public records. The great eucharist and some other sacred utensils of silver were also removed out of the church, and deposited in a place of safety. The rest of the silver plate, which amounted in all to 1920 ounces, along with gold, precious stones, and the vestments, was portioned out among the prebendaries, who were to restore it when the violence had subsided. On the 29th of December 1559, a large body of the protestants entered the city, and proceeded at once to assail the cathedral, the great spire of which they attempted to pull down. But a successful resistance was offered to the assailants, headed by Leslie of Balwhain, and some of the retainers of the Earl of Huntly, whose uncle was bishop of the see. On the 4th of January, they proceeded in a tumultuous manner to the monasteries of the Black Friars and Carmelites, the buildings of which they plundered and dilapidated. The monastery of the Grey Friars was subsequently visited in the same manner. But the magistrates, alive to the folly of suffering this tumultuous destruction of property, determined to interpose. In a court held

by them a few days afterwards, they agreed to demolish the buildings of the ecclesiastics in a regular manner, and sell the materials, and their gold and silver plate, for the public good. They also agreed to furnish forty men for the service of the "Congregation," and to use their utmost exertions for the suppression of *idolatry*. The remainder of the silver plate belonging to this cathedral, which weighed altogether 108 lbs. 8 ounces 12 drams, and 36 lbs. 11 ounces of gold, besides jewels, was never afterwards forthcoming, and was most likely appropriated to the private use of the prebendaries who had it amongst them. The cathedral was partly saved, but its valuable library was almost totally destroyed, as were also the bishop's palace, and other houses of the ecclesiastics. This finished the progress of destruction in Aberdeen; and the protestants, well pleased with their expedition, left the city.

Such is an account of the first crusade against the Scottish monasteries in 1559. One prelate expatriated himself at the breaking out of this enthusiasm, James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow. We have already observed that when the Duke of Chatelherault went to Glasgow, after committing a number of disorders in the cathedral, he took possession of the episcopal palace. The archbishop having procured the assistance of some French troops then in Scotland, soon recovered the palace, and expelled the duke and his followers. Finding his diocese split into factions, and the minds of the people completely unsettled in religious matters, he retired to France in the early part of the year 1560, carrying with him all the church plate, records, charters, and other documents of great antiquity and value belonging

to the cathedral, which he deposited in the Scottish Carthusian College at Paris, founded in 1325 by David Murray, bishop of Moray, of which college, by his munificent bequest of no less a sum than 80,000 livres for the maintenance of poor scholars of the Scottish nation, that prelate has justly been regarded as a second founder. He ordered, by his will, all the records to be restored to Glasgow so soon as its inhabitants returned to the ancient hierarchy. By the voluntary expatriation of the archbishop, the see of Glasgow fell into the hands of the protestants, who seized its revenues, and appointed John Willox to preach in that city, who was the first protestant minister of Glasgow. There is now reason to fear that all the records and papers which archbishop Beaton carried with him at the Reformation, were destroyed during the memorable French Revolution.

CHAPTER XI.

TOTAL SUBVERSION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ESTABLISHMENT IN SCOTLAND.

THE conduct of the government during this crusade against the cathedrals and monasteries completely evinced its inefficiency and weakness. The queen regent could do nothing to stem the rage for destruction. She threatened, flattered, negotiated in vain; and at length, on the 23d of October, the victorious insurgents deposed her from the office of regent, under the pretence that her proceedings were contrary to the will of their lawful sovereign, Queen Mary, now married to the dauphin, afterwards Francis II. of France; and they appointed a council to manage the government until the meeting of the parliament. The council thus appointed by them consisted of the Duke of Chatelherault (formerly Earl of Arran), the Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, Lord Ruthven, the Prior of St Andrews, and the Master of Maxwell; Murray of Tullibardine, Erskine of Dun, Wishart of Pitarrow, brother of the martyr, and the Provost of Aberdeen for the cities and burghs of the kingdom. The other noblemen and gentlemen connected with them were the Earls of Rothes, Morton, Eglinton, Sutherland, and Marischal; Lords Erskine, Hume, Boyd, Ochiltree, and Livingstone; the barons or lairds of Glenorchy, Lundie, Laurieston, Cunningham, and

Calder; the provosts of Edinburgh, St Andrews, and Dundee. They justified their conduct in deposing the queen regent on the ground that they were hereditary councillors of their sovereign; and they described the act as being done "by us the nobility and commons of the protestants of the church of Scotland."

The church, once so powerful, was now passive: dispirited and heart-broken, the archbishop of St Andrews could only look on without being able to make one single effort in behalf of his order. Some of the most influential nobility had joined the insurgent "Congregation;" the protestant doctrines, supported by the influence of the English queen Elizabeth, had spread throughout the country; the monastic establishments and churches had been destroyed by violence; and the reformers were in possession of the principal towns in the kingdom. According to Petrie, some of the prelates assembled in the episcopal city of Brechin in Forfarshire, and deliberated on their peculiar and now hopeless situation. This was interpreted into an attempt at persecution on their part; and a violent proclamation was issued against them, dated from Dundee, on the 14th of December, which seems to have had the desired effect of breaking up the meeting.

In the meanwhile, after a variety of skirmishings between the forces of the queen regent and those of the Lords of the "Congregation," aided by a considerable number of troops from England, that princess retired to the Castle of Edinburgh, accompanied by the archbishop of St Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeld, and a few of the lay nobility. In this fortress, worn out with care and anxiety, and dispirited at the condition into which the

kingdom of her daughter had been plunged by these religious contentions, she was seized with a lingering distemper, and she at length expired on the 10th of June 1560, about seven months after she had been suspended from her office of regent by the insurgent protestants. Before her death, she invited the leading chiefs of the opposite party to an interview, consisting of the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, and Lord James Stuart, prior of St Andrews, to whom she expressed her grief for the troubles which had arisen, recommended them to send the French and English troops out of the country, to maintain the ancient league with France, and to observe a dutiful and faithful allegiance to their lawful sovereign her daughter. She declared her attachment to the Scottish nation, and bursting into tears, begged pardon of those whom she had offended, and forgave those who had done her injury. She even before her death admitted a visit from John Willox, the protestant preacher, who was one of the most moderate of the party. What impression his conversation made upon her we are not informed; Knox confidently asserts that "she did openly confess that there was no salvation but in and by the death of Christ;" and archbishop Spottiswood observes that "she ended her life most christianly." It appears that the protestant clergy would not allow any funeral obsequies to be celebrated according to the rites of the Romish church, and she was therefore enclosed in a leaden coffin, and kept in the Castle of Edinburgh until the 19th of October following, when she was carried over to France, and interred with great solemnity in the Benedictine monastery of St Peter at Rheims, of which her sister was abbess.

The death of the queen regent terminated the civil warfare on account of religion. The Lords of the Congregation being now triumphant, the French and English troops were sent out of the country; and a few days afterwards public thanksgivings were offered in Edinburgh for the successes with which they had been favoured. The protestant religion had now widely spread throughout the kingdom, and in a meeting which was immediately held, consisting of the leading nobility and commissioners from the burghs, it was resolved to call a parliament for the adjusting of all disputes, and the total suppression of the ancient hierarchy. But that hierarchy may be said to have been by this time virtually though not legally suppressed. We have seen it gradually losing its power and influence, until it was unable even to protect its edifices from the attacks of an infuriated populace. Thus, although the Romish hierarchy was still the legal establishment, although its prelates and dignitaries were still in possession of their sees and benefices, the ancient power and influence of the church, which only a few years before had shone bright and vivid, was now reduced to the pale glimmering of twilight on the verge of extinction, without one effort being made to arrest its progress to ultimate and final dissolution.

The parliament was summoned to be held on the 10th of July, but the commencement of its deliberations was delayed until the month of August. Meanwhile, by the advice of the committee above described, the victorious reformers proceeded to appoint preachers in the several towns of importance, while they subdivided a considerable portion of the kingdom into five districts, to each of which they appointed persons to exercise jurisdiction,

having the title of superintendants, while a chosen number of them was selected to compile a Confession of Faith, to be presented to the Parliament for approval and ratification. The superintendants thus nominated, of whom, it appears, they intended to appoint ten throughout the kingdom after their affairs were settled, were to exercise a species of jurisdiction or control over the new ministers to be appointed in the parishes similar to that possessed by the bishops. The nomination of these functionaries was in the highest degree illegal, considering that they were to exercise their vocation in the dioceses of the bishops; but in this instance a respect for lawful and constituted rights formed no part of the system of our first reformers.

The five *superintendants* thus nominated, for the other five never were appointed, and who continued for a short time to exercise this peculiar jurisdiction, were John Spottiswood for the district of Lothian, including all the counties south of the Forth to the English border; John Winram, subprior of St Andrews, for the county of Fife; John Willox, for the counties included in the archiepiscopal diocese of Glasgow; John Carswell, for the bishoprics of Argyle and the Isles; and John Erskine, baron of Dun, for the counties of Forfar and Kincardine, commonly called Angus and Mearns. Of these five, Erskine of Dun, who, as we have seen, had early figured in the protestant cause, was the only layman, the others being in holy orders; and it is curious to observe that in this, as in other instances, the Scottish reformers entirely dispensed with the necessity of ordination. The vocation of Erskine of Dun was not only unnecessary, but totally indefensible on any ecclesiastical principle.—

Spottiswood, who was a gentleman of ancient family in Berwickshire, and whose father had been slain in the battle of Flodden, was early attached to the protestant cause, and proceeding to England when he was little more than twenty-three years of age, had become acquainted with archbishop Cranmer, by whom he was admitted into holy orders. When he returned to Scotland in 1547, he was appointed rector of Calder, in the county of Linlithgow, through the interest of Sir James Sandilands, superior of the order of the Templars, who subsequently joined the reformers. This benefice he held till his death. He was father of archbishop Spottiswood, primate of Scotland during the reigns of James I. and Charles I.—Winram had been subprior of St Andrews, and was of course in priest's orders in the Romish church, and an Augustine monk.—Wilcox had been originally a Dominican friar in the town of Ayr, and became a convert to the protestant doctrines by the preaching of George Wishart. It appears that after his nomination to the office of superintendant, he had taken possession of the dean's house in Glasgow, and secured L.1000 per annum out of the revenues of the archbishopric.*—Carswell had been originally rector or parson of Kilmartine in Argyleshire under the ancient hierarchy; and having been patronized by the family of Argyle, through the interest of that nobleman he was promoted to this office, that he might assist him in his projects of seizing the temporalities of the two dioceses of Argyle and the Isles, which he afterwards accomplished. He was afterwards appointed by queen Mary protestant bishop of the Isles,

* Letter of Thomas Archibald, chamberlain to the archbishop of Glasgow (Beaton), at Paris, dated 10th October 1560.

but he was never consecrated. He died in 1572, or, according to Spottiswood, in 1575, after having had various altercations with the reformers, on the distracting subject of church government, for accepting the titular bishopric, and for his attachment to Queen Mary.

Of the others who were distributed throughout the cities and towns, John Knox was appointed to remain at Edinburgh, who, "whatever had been his motive," observes Keith, "had still taken care to keep himself out of the employment (of superintendant). It is most likely he saw that he could be more useful for the main point by remaining close within Edinburgh, and guiding the inhabitants of that capital into such measures as he found necessary for bringing about their designs." Christopher Goodman was appointed to St Andrews. He was a native of Cheshire, and a student of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, where he was reader of the divinity lecture. He had become acquainted with Knox at Geneva, whither he fled to escape the persecution raised by Mary of England, and readily adopted the tenets of Calvin. He joined with Knox in writing some violent tirades against the "Monstrous Regimen of Women," referring to the reign of Queen Mary. Although he died archdeacon of Richmond in 1603, he is described as being a violent non-conformist, "and for rigidness in opinion went beyond his friend Calvin, who remembers and mentions him in one of his Epistles."* He left Scotland in 1565. Adam Heriot, a monk of the Augustine monastery of St Andrews, and connected with

* Wood's Athen. Oxon. by Bliss, i. 722.

a family in Berwickshire of which the celebrated George Heriot, jeweller to king James the VI., was a descendant, was stationed in Aberdeen. John Row, a priest, and a man of considerable attainments, a native of Stirling or its vicinity, who subsequently made a conspicuous figure in the protestant church, was appointed to Perth. William Harlow, formerly mentioned as originally a tailor in the Canongate of Edinburgh, was appointed minister of St Cuthbert's in that city. David Fergusson, a native of Ayrshire, was stationed at Dunfermline. Paul Methven, originally a baker in Dundee, was appointed to Jedburgh. William Christison was nominated minister of Dundee. David Lindsay, a gentleman of ancient family in Forfarshire, was appointed to Leith. By whom or where he was admitted into holy orders is uncertain, but it does not appear that he was so admitted by the Romish prelates of Scotland; at least he was never accused of apostacy, which was not unfrequently retorted upon some of the protestants by their fallen enemies. That he had been lawfully ordained, most probably in England, is undeniable, from the fact of his baptizing the Princess Margaret, daughter of James VI., in the chapel of Holyroodhouse, in 1599, who died in infancy, and also Charles I. in 1600, at Dunfermline. He died bishop of Ross in 1613, to which he was consecrated after the establishment of protestant episcopacy. Such was the strange amalgamation of individuals who at first supplanted the ancient hierarchy: "with this small number," as Archbishop Spottiswood remarks, "was the plantation of the church first undertaken."

The parliament which had been adjourned from the 10th of July was opened on the 1st of August. It has

been argued that this parliament was illegal, because there was no accredited government in Scotland, and because it wanted the sanction of the sovereign. The argument is unquestionably founded in truth; but as we have at present to do with its acts, and not with the question of its legality, it would be idle to recapitulate the objections. The question, it appears, had been fairly discussed at the opening of it, and after a debate of eight days, it was decided by a considerable majority that it was lawfully constituted and called; and as all its acts were ratified and sanctioned by the queen in 1567, the question as to its illegality is of little importance. The queen not being present, and no viceroy appointed to represent her, the ceremony of carrying the sceptre and the crown were omitted.

The parliament summoned on this important occasion was the most numerously attended of any which had been held in Scotland for nearly a century; and it was remarked that some of the barons and knights came clad in armour, attended by numbers of retainers and dependants similarly accoutred. The nobility, with very few exceptions, were all present, with the most of the commissioners from the boroughs, and a most numerous assemblage of the lesser barons and knights. Of the bishops and clergy, there were present the archbishop of St Andrews, the bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Argyle, and Galloway,* and John Carswell, superintendant or titular of the Isles; the prior of St Andrews, the abbots or commendators of Arbroath, Holyroodhouse, Coldingham, Lindores, Cupar, Jedburgh,

* This prelate was also the titular archbishop of Athens.

Newbottle, Culross, Kilwinning, Fearn, Dundrennan, Newabbey, and Dryburgh, the prior of Portmoak and others, but some of those abbots or commendators were not ecclesiastics. The first thing discussed was the legality of the parliament, which having been decided, they proceeded to elect the *Lords of the Articles*. The reader is to observe that the Scottish parliament did not compose two houses, but that the prelates, nobility, knights, and burgesses, all formed one house or chamber. The proceedings were not conducted by motions or debates, as they are characterized in the parliament of the United Kingdom. The Lords of the Articles were a kind of committee, by whom all petitions or bills were arranged and approved before they were introduced into parliament. The number of individuals who composed this committee, and the mode of the election, varied at different times, but generally consisted of an equal number of the clergy, the barons, and the knights or burgesses. Keith observes, that for "three hundred years backwards, they consisted of an uncertain number of members, not under three of the clergy, three of the barons, and three of the burgesses; but sometimes there have been as many as sixteen 'bishops and mitred abbots,' and as many barons."* This mode of electing the Lords of the Articles in the Scottish parliament, as it has been justly observed, totally destroyed its aspect as a free and deliberative assembly;

* History, p. 149. "In later times," observes this writer, "we have more certainty, for in the parliament of 1633, in which King Charles I. presided, I perceive that the clergy elected eight of the nobility, the nobility eight of the clergy, and these two estates jointly elected eight knights of shires and eight commissioners of burghs, together with the officers of state, in all thirty-two."

it gave immense power to the crown over its deliberations, and in reality prevented any thing contrary to the inclinations of the sovereign from being introduced or discussed in these assemblies. On this occasion, therefore, the election of the committee decided the fate of the church, and sufficiently evinced the disposition of the assembly. The temporal peers, in whose right was the nomination of the clerical portion of the committee, passing over those of the spiritual estate who were known to be supporters of the church, elected the bishops of Galloway (Gordon) and Argyle (Hamilton, illegitimate brother of the Duke of Chatelherault, and of the archbishop of St Andrews, nominated to this see in 1559, but never consecrated), both of whom had turned protestants, James Stuart, prior of St Andrews, the abbots or commendators of Arbroath, Kilwinning, Lindores, Newbattle, and Culross, in all eight members. This election on the part of the nobility was ominous. The archbishop of St Andrews and others of the clergy in vain protested against the election, alleging that some of them were laymen, and all of them apostates. "The course," says Spottiswood, "was changed, and it behoved *them* to *take* law who had formerly *given* it to others."

It would be tedious to enumerate the particular proceedings of this important parliament, which by its decisions completely subverted the ancient hierarchy. A number of petitions having been received in favour of the protestant church, the new Confession of Faith, and Book of Discipline, which had been compiled by Spottiswood (father of the archbishop), Willox, Winram, Row, Knox, and John Douglas, rector of the

university of St Andrews, and afterwards titular archbishop of that see, was presented on the 17th of August, under the title of "The Confession of the Faith and Doctrine believed and professed by the Protestants of Scotland." This Confession, which is sufficiently voluminous, is chiefly remarkable as having been the common creed of the protestant episcopal church in Scotland while that church was established, as it was of the presbyterian, before the latter adopted the Westminster Confession in the following century; and consists of many excellent articles in doctrine, but some very objectionable ones in discipline and government. It appears that those concerned in the compilation of it were considerably divided in opinion, Spottiswood, Winram, Willox, and Douglas, being anxious not to change the episcopal constitution of the church, but merely to reform its abuses and corruptions of doctrine; while Knox, who considerably influenced his associates, insisted on adopting the presbyterian church government. Among their other suggestions was a farther demolition of the monasteries, with all "monuments and places of idolatry, abbeys, priories, monkeries, nunneries, chapels, chantries, cathedral churches, canonries, colleges, others than are presently parish churches or schools," and also a severe prosecution of "papistical priests," who, they allege, "have neither power nor authority to minister the sacraments of Jesus Christ." On the day on which this Confession was presented it received the sanction of the parliament, the Earl of Athol and Lords Sommerville and Borthwick only dissenting, and declaring that they "would believe as their fathers had believed." The Earl Marischal made a speech on the occasion, in which

he bitterly animadverted on the conduct of the bishops, who perceiving the tendency of the deliberations, and probably having satisfied themselves that the parliament was illegal, deemed it prudent to preserve silence. The archbishop of St Andrews had been threatened with death by his brother the Duke of Chatelherault if he attempted to speak; and it is not unlikely that the other prelates and abbots were under intimidation. "They probably were convinced," observes an eloquent historian, "that opposition was vain; that it might even convert into persecutors the very men who, a little before, had so piously and with so much energy exposed the enormity of persecution. This, however, was not the only motive which induced them to be silent. Many of the abbots were inclined to yield to the torrent of public opinion, by the promise that their abbeyes would be converted into temporal lordships, which they might be permitted to retain; and the bishops were meditating the enriching of their families—for most of them had families—by leases and alienations of the estates of the church."*

The recommendation of the compilers of the new Confession of Faith was not lost upon the parliament. On the 23d of August, the celebration of mass was abolished—the Romish clergy declared to be usurpers—and the protestant preachers the only true ministers. To enforce this act, penalties were enacted which evince the fact that we need not refer to Rome for a monopoly of persecution. By this act the victorious protestants declared, that all who celebrated mass, or were present at its celebration, should

* Cook's History of the Reformation in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 331.

for the first offence be punished by confiscation of goods, for the second by banishment, and for the third by *death*. The very men who had decried the ancient hierarchy on account of its cruel and intolerant spirit, thus became, or intended to become, persecutors in turn. While they declaimed against the pretensions of the church of Rome to infallibility, they arrogated to themselves the very principle which they condemned; and while they contended against the decrees and decisions of the ancient councils and fathers of the church, they scrupled not to set forth their own resolutions as infallible truth, from which there was to be no deviation, and obedience to which was required under the most severe penalties. It is needless, however, to comment on those extraordinary enactments. It is evident that the rulers of the ancient hierarchy were succeeded by a class of men not more tolerant and liberal. Intolerance was indeed the besetting error of the times, but the apologies which may be framed for the proceedings of the deposed ecclesiastics cannot be extended to them; and they “justified, in as far as similar conduct could justify it, the atrocious cruelty of the priesthood, to those unhappy men who had been convicted of heretical pollution.”*

On the 24th of August, the day following that on which the above act was passed, the papal jurisdiction was abolished in Scotland, and all prelates and churchmen, of whatsoever estate or degree, were prohibited from exercising authority in virtue of that jurisdiction, under the “pains of baratrie, that is to say, proscription, banishment, and never to bruik (be capable of holding) honour,

* Cook, vol. ii. *ut sup.* p. 335.

office, nor dignitie, within this realm.”* Another act was also passed, which rescinded and cancelled all former acts not in unison with the new Confession of Faith. It appears, however, as we shall subsequently see, that the new Confession was not passed without opposition. Knox and his colleagues had suggested a scheme, utterly impracticable in itself—no better than a dream, as Spottiswood justly observes—for collecting the ecclesiastical revenues, which they never contemplated for a moment were to be seized by the protestant nobility. After observing that, to their grief, they understood that “some gentlemen are now more rigorous in exacting the tithes and other duties paid before to the church, than ever the papists were, and so the tyranny of priests is turned into the tyranny of lords and lairds,”† they recommended that “annual deacons should be surrogated into the room of the former legal proprietors,” for collecting the tithes and rents of the church lands, “and those deacons were to distribute the incomes according to warrants signed by the ministers and elders.”‡ This proposition was received with the utmost scorn by the lay nobility, who termed it a “devout imagination,” and otherwise unequivocally evinced that it by no means harmonized with their preconcerted schemes of plunder. The wrath of Knox was unbounded at the sneers with which they received his proposal. He admits that the very name of the new Confession and Book of Discipline was a subject of contempt and ridicule to them on this account. In his “*Historie*,” he makes the most

* Act of Scottish Parliament at Edinburgh, 24th August 1560.

† Sixth Head of the Form of Church Policy in Scotland, anno 1560.

‡ Keith's History, p. 494.

furious attacks on them for their conduct, and declares, that "there was nane within the realm more unmercifull to the puir ministeris than war they wha had the grittest rents of the kirkes." This was a fertile source of contention between the preachers and the nobility for many years after the destruction of the Romish hierarchy, and, in fact, most of the turbulence, sedition, and violence which distinguished the reigns of Mary and James VI. originated from this source. As a reply to the suggestion of Knox, which was treated with so much ridicule, it was subsequently enacted by the Secret Council, on the 17th of January 1560-1, that "the bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates, and beneficed vicars, who have also joined themselves to us, bruik the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes, they sustaining and upholding the ministry and ministers for the preaching of the word, and the ministration of the sacraments."

Several acts of a minor nature were passed in this parliament, but as they were all connected with those to which we have already alluded, it is unnecessary to give them in detail. After the passing of those acts, the parliament was dissolved; and the first General Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland, which met on the 20th of December following, finally succeeded the ancient hierarchy.

Such were the acts of this celebrated parliament, the whole proceedings of which were ratified in 1567, when the parliament then held was sanctioned by the royal authority, during the regency of the Earl of Moray. To narrate the events which occurred in Scotland during those seven years of strife and turbulence falls not within our sphere. The arrival of the hapless Mary from

France; the intrigues, plots, and conspiracies of her bastard brother, the prior of St Andrews, afterwards Earl of Moray, and his associates; the rude behaviour of Knox to the queen; the intrigues of Elizabeth; and the baseness and servility of the Scottish nobles; the marriage of Mary to Darnley; the murder of Rizzio in her presence at Holyroodhouse; the murder of Darnley by the Earl of Bothwell, contrived and abetted by the Earl of Moray; the marriage of Mary to Bothwell; her degradation, deposition, imprisonment, escape, disasters, and final flight into England; and the elevation of her brother Moray to the regency—all these are narratives which have been often told, and yet which seem to lose nothing of their interest, notwithstanding their frequent repetition. It is not, however, as we have said, our province to enter into those extraordinary and exciting narratives, our object being chiefly to trace the fortunes of the fallen hierarchy. We have seen it brought to its close, and popery prostrated for ever in Scotland never to rise again. No effort did it subsequently ever make of any moment to regain its former eminence, or to recover its lost importance; the collisions which afterwards took place between its adherents and the triumphant reformers were merely local squabbles, and party or petty quarrels, which neither advanced its interests, nor retarded the progress of its adversaries. The church which had existed as the establishment of Scotland for some centuries was finally overthrown. Mary, indeed, the beautiful, the injured, and the unfortunate, adhered to the religion of her ancestors, but that only subjected her, though the sovereign of the kingdom, to additional mortifications and persecutions. The toleration and security

which she so liberally extended to others were denied to her. Her spirit was too gentle to countenance persecution for religion, although she had possessed the power. Her religion was made the pretext to invite the people to revolt. It was called in question whether the queen, being an *idolater*, ought to be obeyed in all civil actions. "I think marvellously," observed Randolph, the English ambassador, to Cecil, respecting the Scots of that age, "of the wisdom of God, that gave this unruly and inconstant people no more power than they have, as they would then run wild."* Mary Stuart, arriving in widowhood from France, then the most polished, refined, and civilized country of Europe, at the age of nineteen, had to enter on the difficult task of governing a corrupt people and a factious nobility. With them the desire for innovation had been roused, and the voice of just legislation was no longer regarded. In this respect, and as arising out of the discords fomented by the turbulent leaders of the existing factions for the accomplishment of their projects, and fostered by the English queen, "the period of the Scottish Reformation," it is well observed by Chalmers,† "may be deemed the period of crimes. The people were reformed from papistry to protestantism, yet was there no reform in their morals; about religion there was much declamation, but on life and manners religion seems to have had little influence, if we judge from the facts of those revolutionary annals. Conspiracy followed conspiracy, and crime induced crime, in quick succession. History evinces that every great revolution produces the most

* Randolph to Cecil, *apud* Keith, p. 201, 202, 203, &c.

† Caledonia, vol. i. p. 858.

unhappy influences on the human character. And it is certain from the annals of the Reformation in Scotland, that the civil conflicts of those times left a very sharp edge upon the spirits of the people."

CHAPTER XII.

PROSECUTIONS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS IN SCOTLAND.
CHURCH.

THE word *heresy* now assumed a new meaning in Scotland, and was invariably used by the protestants to designate the opinions of their fallen antagonists. Of the state of the country at this period we may easily form an opinion from the fact, that nearly forty years afterwards, there were of the 900 parishes churches in Scotland, 400 without ministers or readers. In fact, the Scottish reformers totally neglected the country parishes. It suited their purposes better to live in large towns, where there was a constant scene of strife and turbulence. The virtue of the covenant passed by the parliament for punishing those who adhered to the fallen church, prosecutions were speedily commenced. All the persons who would not recant were expelled from the towns and cities. The Earl of Huntly still supported the fallen hierarchy in the district of Strathgordon among the tennants of Aberdeen; and the Duke of Richmond and Galloway, and Lord Bannockburn and Huntly, kept themselves aloof from the triumphant reformation.

* Burnet's History, April March 1686, p. 27.

† The suppression of the archbishopric of Glasgow by the act passed at Paris, 15th December 1560.

CHAPTER XII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PROTESTANTS AGAINST THE ROMISH CHURCH.

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In virtue of the enactment passed by the parliament for punishing those who adhered to the fallen church, prosecutions were speedily commenced. All the priests who would not recant were expelled from the towns and cities. The Earl of Huntly still supported the fallen hierarchy in the district of Strathbogie among the fastnesses of Aberdeenshire; and the Earls of Eglinton and Cassillis, and Lords Semple, Ross, and Hume, kept themselves aloof from the triumphant reformers;† but

* Birrel's Diary, *apud* March 1596, p. 37.

† The chamberlain of the archbishop of Glasgow to the archbishop at Paris, 18th December 1560.

the proceedings of those powerful noblemen had little influence on the fortunes of the deposed church. The Laird of Dalhousie was imprisoned at St Andrews for relieving the necessities of one or two poor friars, and his house ransacked by the Earl of Arran and Lord James Stuart. We now, indeed, find a continued series of prosecutions in the Criminal Records instituted against the clergy and others for celebrating and being present at mass, and among these the name of the archbishop of St Andrews often occurs. Four members of the university of Aberdeen were summoned to Edinburgh, and committed prisoners in that city—namely, Leslie, at that time official or commissary of the diocese, afterwards bishop of Ross; Strachan, a canon; Myreton, treasurer of the diocese; and Anderson, professor of divinity. According to Bishop Leslie, messengers were dispatched to all the principal towns to hold a kind of inquisition, and to report those who would not embrace the protestant cause. The pulpits resounded with denunciations against the mass and its supporters, expressed in no measured language nor in the gentlest manner: the preachers maintained that popery was a religion not so ancient as Judaism, and that it was even worse than the system of Mahomet:* the deposed bishops and the clergy were alluded to in the most opprobrious manner; and every acrimonious epithet was levelled at their rank and profession. These remarks especially apply to Knox, who, if he preached in the style and phraseology in which his “History of the Reformation” is written, must have been exceedingly violent.

* Knox's Historie.

A second general assembly was held in May 1561, in which, among other things, they recommended the "suppressing of idolatry throughout the whole realm, and punishing the users thereof." A Convention of the Estates which had assembled at that very time, passed an act, in compliance with the wishes of the Reformers, for the complete demolition of all the remaining cathedrals, abbeys, and "monuments of idolatry," as the churches were termed, throughout the kingdom. For the speedy accomplishment of this crusade, the kingdom was divided into three districts, the northern counties being assigned to Lord James Stuart, the western counties to the Earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glencairn, and the southern and inland counties to various individuals connected with them, on whose vigilance they could depend. On this occasion, whatsoever escaped the first demolition in 1559 was completely destroyed. "Hereupon," says Spottiswood, "ensued a pitiful devastation of churches and church buildings throughout the land; for every man made bold to put to his hand, the meaner sort imitating the greater, and those who were in authority. They rifled all churches indifferently, making spoil of every thing they found. The vessels appointed for the service of the church, and whatsoever else made for decoration of the same, were taken away, and applied to profane uses. The buildings of the church were defaced; the timber, lead, bells, put to sale, and alienated to merchants. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared, but digged, ript up, and sacrilegiously violated. Bibliothecs destroyed; the volumes of the fathers, councils, and other books of learning, with the registers of the church, cast into the

streets, afterwards gathered in heaps, and consumed with fire. In short, all was ruined, and what had escaped in the time of the first tumult did now undergo the common calamity, which was so much the worse, that the violences committed at this time were shadowed with the warrant of public authority." Thus far the venerable historian. We have seen how true were his delineations.

During those proceedings, which the nobility and their coadjutors were turning to their own account by seizing the temporalities of the church, and getting possession of the leases of the lands, Mary arrived in Scotland on the 19th of August, and assumed the government. At a banquet which was given her in the city of Edinburgh on the 2d of September, a great array of banners was exhibited, on which the most terrible denunciations against idolatry were inscribed; and it is mentioned by Randolph to Cecil that it was seriously proposed "to burn the effigy of a priest on the altar at the elevation"*—an exhibition which was prevented by the Earl of Huntly. On Sunday the 14th, when the queen had scarcely been a month in the country, while divine service was performing in the chapel-royal at Stirling, at which she was present, the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stuart commenced a riot, and some, "both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears."† On the Hallowmas eve following, mass was said before the queen, and during the night one of the officiating priests was most severely beaten by a domestic belonging to one of the protestant noblemen. In short, in the correspondence of that time

* Randolph to Cecil, dated 7th September 1561.

† Randolph to Cecil, 24th September 1561.

we meet with numerous instances of the maltreatment of the unfortunate ecclesiastics, whenever they were so unlucky as to fall into the hands of the mob.

But the most remarkable act of this year was the order issued by a Convention which met at Edinburgh, instead of a Parliament, requiring the ecclesiastical rentals of all the bishoprics and abbeys to be given in to the Privy Council. The object, it appears, of this Convention was to adjudge the revenue of the queen, and to appropriate stipends for the protestant clergy. What was the immediate object, however, of the order respecting the ecclesiastical revenues is not very clear. The bishops protested against the proceedings as illegal, but without effect. The returns were ordered to be made by a given time; and from this important order we shall subsequently lay before the reader the amount of the revenues of the bishoprics and monasteries in Scotland.

Of the Scottish prelates who witnessed the subversion of their church at the Reformation, we now give a concluding account. The archbishop of Glasgow (Beaton) had betaken himself to Paris at the commencement of the outrages in 1559. We have seen that John Willox had been appointed by the Reformers to the superintendence of the see, and had obtained £1000 per annum out of the episcopal revenues. The victorious insurgents afterwards instituted a legal process against the archbishop, and seized all the revenues of the see. Queen Mary was in France when he went to that country; and after her arrival in Scotland in 1561, he was appointed her resident ambassador at that court. During the troubles in Mary's reign and the minority of James VI. he received no emoluments from his Scottish diocese; and indeed no

fewer than four titular protestant archbishops were nominated to the see of Glasgow, besides Willox. Archbishop Beaton, however, obtained considerable preferment in France. A great part of the see had been dilapidated to the Earls of Lennox; but in 1582, when James VI. assumed the government, he restored the archbishop to the title and revenues. He never returned to this country, but remained in France as the accredited representative of Mary, and afterwards of James VI., until his death in 1603.

The fate of archbishop Hamilton, the primate, was as unfortunate as that of his immediate predecessor, cardinal Beaton. Three years after the meeting of the Parliament which had overthrown the ancient hierarchy, he was committed to the Castle of Edinburgh for celebrating mass. From this durance he was relieved at the intercession of Mary, who, it is said, had to petition with tears for his liberty. In 1566 we find him officiating at the baptism of the only son of Mary and Lord Darnley, afterwards James I. of England, on which occasion he used all the ceremonies enjoined at the administration of that sacrament by the church of Rome—a circumstance which powerfully operated against the queen and himself in the minds of the protestants. Not long after this he was accused of being concerned in the murder of Lord Darnley, for which there was no other authority than the fact of his having granted a commission to those judges who divorced the Earl of Bothwell from his wife previous to his marriage with the queen, and his having been one of those who prepared the account of the murder of Darnley which was transmitted to the French court. Faithful to the queen in all her vicissitudes and

misfortunes, he was one of the chief opponents of her illegitimate brother the regent Moray, formerly noticed as the prior of St Andrews; and he was the head of that party who associated for her liberty during her imprisonment in the solitary island of Lochleven. He was accordingly *forfeited*, that is, attainted, in the first Parliament held by Moray, and condemned as a traitor. He aided the celebrated escape of Mary from Lochleven, and instigated that battle fought at Langside near Glasgow, which terminated in her total defeat and flight unto England, whence she never returned. Broken-hearted and miserable, the unfortunate primate now resigned all pretensions to his rank and station, and he appears to have wandered about for more than a year eluding his enemies, and literally without a house to shelter him. In an evil hour his necessities and destitute condition induced him to accept the promise of temporary protection offered to him by the governor of Dunbarton Castle in the Clyde. In this fortress he remained until its capture in 1571, when he fell into the hands of his relentless enemies. He was carried to Stirling, and there tried on four charges.—1. That he knew and was a participator and accomplice in the murder of Darnley, the queen's husband.—2. That he conspired against the king's person at the murdering of the first regent, intending to have surprised the castle of Stirling, and to have been master thereof at his pleasure.—3. That he knew or was participand in the murder of James Earl of Moray, the regent, who had been assassinated publicly in the street of Linlithgow by his kinsman, Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh.—4. That he lay in wait at the wood of Callender, in the neighbourhood of Falkirk, for the slaughter of

Matthew Earl of Lennox, then regent. He solemnly denied having any knowledge of, or connection with, the two first and the last charges against him; but he admitted with sorrow that he was concerned in the third, namely, the murder of Moray; which, in fact, had been long premeditated by the Hamiltons, although accelerated by a private quarrel between Moray and Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. From some defect in the evidence, or from want of proof, the enemies of the archbishop could not convict him on any of these charges; and they therefore had recourse to the act of attainder passed in Moray's first parliament, on which disgraceful and unprincipled act they sentenced him to be hanged at Stirling. He was murdered in this manner on the 5th of April 1571, at the bridge of Stirling, and insulted by his enemies by being compelled in his last moments to wear his pontifical robes, in which he was carried to the gibbet. Such was the fate of the last Roman Catholic primate of Scotland—a man to whom Buchanan ascribes the most odious character, but whom more veracious historians have defended in a proper manner. His name, and the recollection of his fate, were for many years a bond of union among the Scottish Catholics, who never forgave this wanton murder, committed in defiance of law, justice, and religion.

Of the prelates who sat in the eleven bishoprics of Aberdeen, Argyle, Brechin, Caithness, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Galloway, Moray, Orkney, Ross, and the Isles, our notices must necessarily be brief.—William Gordon, a near relation of the Earl of Huntly, was bishop of Aberdeen. His first preferment had been the rectory of Clatt, in the same county and diocese. He

appears to have taken no active part in the proceedings of the parliament which subverted the hierarchy, and died in the city of Aberdeen in 1557.

The bishopric of Moray was held by Patrick Hepburn, son of the first Earl of Bothwell, and nephew to John Hepburn, prior of St Andrews, who founded St Leonard's College in that university. He was consequently nearly related to the well-known Earl of Bothwell who murdered Lord Darnley and married Queen Mary. Keith observes that this bishop found the see "in good condition, but he feued out all the lands belonging to it." He shared the fate of his order at the Reformation, but kept possession of his episcopal palace of Spynie, on the eastern bank of the lake, in the parish of that name in the county of Moray or Elgin, where he died in June 1573, and was buried in the choir of his magnificent cathedral at Elgin, which by this time had been reduced to a mass of ruins by the Earl of Moray, to whom had been committed the work of demolishing the "monuments of idolatry" in the north of Scotland, as the cathedrals and churches were termed by the protestants.

Donald Campbell, who is styled by Keith "a son of the family of Argyle," was nominated to the see of Brechin in 1522. He was also abbot of Cupar-Angus in the same diocese. It appears that on account of his being a supporter of the protestant doctrines, the election was not sanctioned by the pope, and he retained the rank of abbot, but never assumed possession of the bishopric. He was present in the parliament of 1560 as abbot of Cupar, and died in 1562, while he held the office of lord privy seal to Queen Mary. John Sinclair, or St Clair,

of the St Clairs of Roslin near Edinburgh, was, properly speaking, the last popish bishop of Brechin. He had been dean of Restalrig, in the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh, and succeeded bishop Campbell. He officiated at the marriage of Queen Mary and Lord Darnley in 1565, and died on the following year. At the time of his death he was Lord President of the Court of Session.

William Chisholm was bishop of Dunblane, and William Chisholm, his nephew, was his coadjutor in the see. The former, who died in 1564, being a bitter enemy of the Reformation, alienated the great part of his bishopric to his nephew Sir James Chisholm of Cromlex, and to his illegitimate children, of whom he had three, a son and two daughters. His nephew and successor appropriated what was left of the temporalities to his own use and that of his family; and being prosecuted for refusing to comply with the measures of the Reformers, he withdrew into France, and died at Grenoble.

Robert Crichton was bishop of Dunkeld. He held this see till he was expelled by the Reformers in 1561 or 1562. He signed the protest of the archbishop of St Andrews in 1561, respecting the order of the Privy Council for the production of the rentals of the benefices.

Henry St Clair, of the St Clairs of Roslin, was bishop of Ross at the Reformation, and died in 1564-5. He was succeeded by the celebrated John Leslie, the learned and elegant defender of Queen Mary, who was the last Roman Catholic bishop of this see. He spent most of his time in England during the life of Mary, and was detained a prisoner in the Tower of London nearly four years, on a charge of being concerned in the pro-

jected marriage between that princess and the Duke of Norfolk. He afterwards went to the continent, and after an active public life died at Brussels in 1596.

Robert Stewart, brother of the Earl of Lennox, was elected bishop of this see in 1542, when he was very young. He was never consecrated; and having turned protestant, he enjoyed the episcopal revenues during his lifetime. He died Earl of March in 1586.

The bishopric of Orkney was vacant at the time of the Reformation. Robert Reid, the founder of the University of Edinburgh, and President of the Court of Session, was the last Roman Catholic bishop. He was one of the commissioners appointed to proceed to France to witness the marriage of Mary to the Dauphin in 1558. He died at Dieppe on his return home in the month of September that year.

Alexander Gordon, titular archbishop of Athens, was bishop of Galloway in 1560. He was present in the parliament of that year, and was appointed one of the Lords of the Articles on that occasion—an election which was protested against by archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews, on account of his becoming a protestant. He had various quarrels with the Reformers, but he kept his bishopric till his death in 1576, and made a resignation of the temporalities in favour of his son John Gordon, which was sanctioned by the crown. He had, however, given charters of church lands, shortly after the Reformation, to the Gordons of Lochinvar, a family with which he was connected by relationship, the head of which is ennobled by the title of Viscount of Kenmure.

James Hamilton, another illegitimate brother of the Duke of Chatelherault, was appointed to the see of Argyle

on the death of the former bishop, Robert Montgomery, a son of the first Earl of Eglinton. It does not appear that he was ever consecrated, but he was in holy orders, having been rector of Spot in the county of Haddington. He turned protestant at the Reformation, and was also elected one of the Lords of the Articles in the parliament of 1560. By his agency he enabled the Earl of Argyle to seize the church lands of this see, with their registers and charters, in whose family they have remained since that period.

The bishopric of the Isles was vacant. The last bishop was Gordon, titular archbishop of Athens, translated to Galloway in 1558. A son of Campbell of Cawdor in Nairnshire was nominated to succeed him, but it does not appear that he was consecrated. He obtained possession, however, of the temporalities, the most part of which he seized in favour of his own family, to whom also he secured some jurisdictions, which the family of Campbell of Cawdor, now represented by Lord Cawdor, enjoy to this day. The Earl of Argyle had influence to secure what remained, and from that circumstance all the records of this see, like that of Argyle, respecting their revenues and temporalities, are either lost or concealed among the archives of the house of Argyle.

It will thus be seen, from this account of the Scottish prelates at the Reformation, that the episcopacy of Scotland was lost in a few years, and had in fact become totally extinct. Various individuals were indeed appointed to the sees after the death of the incumbents; but all those persons so appointed by the government during the several regencies to secure the temporalities of the bishoprics, and by James VI. to counteract

and oppose the presbyterian church, the discipline and model of which he cordially hated, were merely nominal bishops without consecration, most of them being laymen; at least none of them had been episcopally ordained. The Scottish Reformers, even those of them who had been admitted into holy orders in the church of Rome, after the triumph of the Reformation appear to have set the necessity of ordination altogether at defiance; and the irregularities they countenanced, and even defended, in this respect were productive of numerous evils in subsequent years. For fifty years, until 1610, when Spottiswood, archbishop of Glasgow, Hamilton, bishop of Galloway, and Lamb, bishop of Brechin, were consecrated in the chapel of London-House by the bishops of London, Ely, and Bath, there had been neither consecration nor ordination in Scotland, except that species of it which the preachers were in the habit of following, according to the Calvinistic manner. Indeed, many of the preachers of that period denied its validity altogether, maintaining that the choice of the people and the inward call of the Spirit of God were the essentials, as if the Spirit of God had made a manifestation similar to that in the apostolic times. The history of Scotland after the downfall of the ancient hierarchy, as well as that of the succeeding century, affords some melancholy specimens of human pride, turbulence, and sedition, on the part of many whose pretensions were fully as extravagant as those of their Romish predecessors; and who, by their incessant interference in political affairs, kept the kingdom in a continued state of excitement.

Many of the abbots and heads of the religious houses

conformed to the Reformation, and having obtained possession of the temporalities, got them erected into lordships in their own favour, and themselves subsequently elevated to the peerage. Some of them at the time of the Reformation were laymen, who held appointments *in commendam*, and were termed *commendators* of the several abbeys. The temptations held out to these individuals were too great not to induce them to conform to the new order of things. Taking advantage of the enthusiasm of the preachers, who in their zeal to conquer their Romish enemies entirely forgot, until it was too late, the necessity of making a provision for themselves, they shared the spoil of the church property among them in such a manner as to make it extremely difficult for the preachers, when they became alive to the necessities of their situation, to extract even a pittance for them from their support. The men through whose agency they had acquired these possessions were either ridiculed, or roughly refused their demands; their representations of poverty were termed *dreams*, and their complaints *devout imaginations*; and hence a system of railing against the nobility and laity was frequently indulged by the preachers, which served only to irritate those against whom their upbraidings were levelled. It was evident that with the subversion of the ancient church had ceased all respect on the part of the laity for the ecclesiastical body. Unlike the dignitaries of the ancient church, most of whom had been nearly related to the most powerful and noble families of the kingdom, they viewed the protestant preachers as low-born individuals, not far raised above the condition of mechanics or tradesmen, without influence, authority,

or importance. The penetrating mind of Knox saw the situation in which he and his associates were placed. It was too late, however, to recall the past: the temporalities of the church had fallen into the hands of those whose cupidity was too great to relinquish them, and the public mind had undergone a change, which it is more than probable that remarkable man had himself never contemplated.

CHAPTER XIII.

STATISTICS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SCOTLAND—
PROPERTY AND RENTALS OF THE BISHOPRICS, ABBEYS, AND
RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

HAVING traced the progress of the papal establishment in Scotland to its complete subversion and overthrow, we now inquire more minutely into the resources of that once powerful system, when it existed flourishing and prosperous. The reader, at the same time, will perceive that the limits of the present volume allow us to give merely a sketch or outline, yet such a sketch as will be suitable to the object in view.

On the 22d of December 1561, an order was issued by the Privy Council of Scotland, requiring a return to be made of the revenues of all the bishoprics, abbeys, monasteries, priories, and religious houses of every description in the kingdom. To facilitate this important statistical inquiry, the country was divided into two great sections. The returns of those bishoprics, abbeys, and monasteries south of the stupendous ridge called the Grampian Mountains, which run from sea to sea, were ordered to be given in on or before the 24th of January; and those north of that range before the 10th

day of February ensuing. It appears that the archbishop of St Andrews, and the bishops of Moray, Dunkeld, and Ross, had voluntarily offered to resign a third part of their revenues to the queen, which was to be collected by officers appointed by the crown for that purpose, out of which she was to pay the protestant clergy a specified sum, and to appropriate the surplus to her own use; the other two-thirds of the bishoprics and benefices to remain with the existing incumbents. In compliance with the orders of the Privy Council, this statistical inquiry was instituted; but at the same time there is reason to conclude that the revenues were greatly underrated by the bishops and incumbents themselves, who studiously returned them as low as possible, for obvious political and personal considerations. The value of the payments *in kind*, that is, in grain, capons, swine, poultry, mutton, salmon, butter, cheese, and other commodities, varied in that age in different counties; but grain generally averaged from L.16 to L.20 per chalder Scots, which may be stated as about equal to money sterling. It is proper to state, however, more minutely, that in 1563 the boll of wheat in Scotland brought on an average L.2, the boll of bear or barley L.1, 13s. 4d., the boll of malt L.2, oats 10s., a carcase of mutton 9s., a goose 1s., a dozen of capons 12s., a dozen of poultry 4s., the stone of cheese 6s. 8d., a swine L.1, a kid 1d., a barrel of salmon L.4.

In the "History of the Church and State of Scotland," by Keith, that industrious writer has printed in his Appendix a list of the rentals of the bishoprics and religious houses, which he says he compiled from the Collectors' Books of the Third of the Benefices, by way

of Charge and Discharge, preserved in the Parliament-house Records at Edinburgh, and from the Books of the Assumption of the Benefices, which are preserved among the archives of the family of Panmure. In these the rentals are signed either by the archbishops and bishops themselves, or by their chamberlains and factors. It contains, however, Keith farther observes, only the northern and southern parts of the kingdom. The document from which the subsequent list is taken is preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum,* and purports to be extracted from records preserved in the Tower of London and Westminster Abbey. It will be noticed that no returns are made of the bishoprics of Argyle and the Isles, nor of the religious houses in those dioceses, such as Icolmkill, the priories of Ardchattan, Oronsay, &c. for the reason already mentioned, viz. the then Earl of Argyle having seized all the registers and papers connected with the church lands, by the influence he possessed with the court, the leaders at which were not inclined to oppose a nobleman at the head of a turbulent and powerful clan; and having succeeded in gaining Carsewell, the protestant superintendant of Argyle and the Isles, to his interest, he appropriated all the temporalities of those dioceses to his own family. In the subsequent list of the rentals of the religious houses, as far as they are known, we have omitted, for the sake of brevity, those portions of them which were paid in grain, sheep, poultry, fish, &c. giving merely the money. These were very great, and far exceeded the value of the benefices in actual

* Harleian MSS. 4623. Plut. lxiii. D.

money, but their insertion here would merely confuse the reader.

We naturally turn our attention first to St Andrews, the seat of the primate, and the metropolitan see of Scotland, whose archbishop ranked next to the royal family, and with whom was the exclusive right of crowning the Scottish monarchs. The power of the archbishop of St Andrews was as extensive in matters temporal as it was in ecclesiastical affairs. We are told by an old writer on the subject,* that in virtue of his office, he was, like the bishops of Durham, count palatine and lord of regality, the latter jurisdiction being equivalent to that exercised in modern times by a sheriff or steward, while the lands within the bounds of the regality belonged to the lord of the regality either in property or superiority. Three of those regalities belonged to the archbishopric, Monymusk in Aberdeenshire, Kirkliston in Linlithgowshire, and St Andrews in Fife. The lordship of Monymusk, according to Buchanan, was conferred on the see in 1057, in consequence of a vow made by Malcolm IV., grandson of David I., to St Andrew, titular saint of Scotland. At the Revolution of 1688, when the present presbyterian church supplanted the episcopal establishment, the Marquis of Huntly was chief vassal, paying the annual sum of L.300 Scots of feu-duties to the see. The lordship of Kirkliston, sometimes called the regality of St Andrews south of the Forth, was very ancient, but it is not known by whom it was erected. It was of considerable extent, comprehending the greatest part of the counties of Stirling,

* Martine in his "*Reliquiæ Divi Andreae.*"

Linlithgow, Edinburgh, and Haddington. The Earls of Winton, attainted in 1715, were heritable bailies of this regality, until they sold their right in 1677 to the ancestor of the present Earls of Hopetoun. The lordship of St Andrews, erected prior to the year 1309, but by whom is uncertain, was the most comprehensive of the three, extending to all the lands held of the archbishop, of the prior and convent, and of the provostry of Kirkheugh, in the counties of Fife, Perth, Forfar, and Kincardine, as well as in the counties south of the Forth not included in the other regalities. The Learmonths of Dairsie in Fife were the heritable bailies of the archbishop in this important regality till 1663, when the office was conferred upon the Earls of Crawford. Since the Revolution of 1688, the crown has exercised all the privileges of these regalities, and others of a similar nature in the other Scottish dioceses. By a tax-roll of 1665, it appears that one marquis, fifteen earls, three viscounts, and five barons, besides many persons of inferior rank, held lands of the archbishop. It was said by Dr John Spottiswood, son of the archbishop and historian, that the archbishop of St Andrews could leave England, travel far into Scotland, and lodge every night on his own lands, or on lands held of him.

The archbishops of St Andrews could judge in many civil cases which are now competent to the Court of Session. They were supreme judges in matters criminal within their own regalities: they were admirals in all places within their bounds, which comprehended the whole sea-coast between the Forth and the Tay; and they had also the privilege of coining money,

confirmed to archbishop Schevez by James III. in 1480, and hence called the *golden charter*. They were *Conservators of the Privileges of the Church of Scotland*, perpetual moderators or chairmen of national or provincial synods; constant chancellors of the university of St Andrews; and sat in parliament, as temporal lords, in all the following capacities—"Lord archbishop of St Andrews, primate of the kingdom, first of both Estates, spiritual and temporal lord of the lordship and priory of St Andrews, Lord Keig and Monymusk, Lord Byrehills and Polduff, Lord Kirkliston, Lord Bishopshire, Lord Muckhartshire, Lord Scotsraig, Lord Stow, Lord Monymail, Lord Dairsie, Lord Angus, Lord Tynningham, and Lord Little Preston."

In the "*Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ*," by Martine, we have a list of all the "benefices and prelacies," as he calls them, belonging to the see, in which the incumbents were confirmed by the archbishops of St Andrews, taken from a tax-roll of the archbishopric in 1547. Under the archdeaconry of St Andrews he enumerates twenty-six benefices; under the deaconry of St Andrews, twenty-one; under that of Fothric, four; Gowrie, six; Angus or Forfar, fifteen; Mearns, seven; Linlithgow, twenty-one; Haddington, eight; Dunbar, fifteen; the Merse, or Berwickshire, eight; in all 131 benefices, none of which was under £40 of annual valued rent, besides a number of churches and chapels in various parts of the kingdom.

As the reader will find in the introductory chapter to the present work a statement of the extent of all the dioceses in Scotland, it is unnecessary to repeat it in this place. Proceeding, therefore, to the record preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, we find

the following statement of the rental of the archbishopric as returned by archbishop Hamilton in 1561-2, exclusive of the priory and other religious establishments in the diocese. The incomes of the other dioceses are taken from the same document.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ST ANDREWS.

Annual rental in money, L.2904 17 2

Wheat, 30 chalders, 8 bolls, 3 firloths, 1 peck;
barley, 41 chalders, 10 bolls, 2 firloths, 1 peck;
oats, 67 chalders, 13 bolls, 3 firloths; meal,
12 bolls; pease, 4lbs.

[In the Books of the Assumption there is a deduction allowed to the archbishop for necessary payments, so that the money is reduced to £2460, 17s.; wheat to 21 chalders; 8 bolls, 1 firloth, 3½ pecks; barley to 29 chalders, 10 bolls, 2 pecks; oats to 51 chalders, 5 bolls, 1 firloth, 3½ pecks.]

Archdeaconry of St Andrews, 600 0 0

Archdeaconry of Teviotdale, 226 6 8

Archdeaconry of Lothian, consisting of the
parsonages of Currie, Restalrig, and Crook-
stone, 720 13 4

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF GLASGOW.

Annual rental in money, L.987 8 7

Meal, 32 chalders, 2 bolls, 1 firloth; barley, 8
bolls; malt, 28 chalders, 6 bolls; horse corn,
12 chalders, 13 bolls, 3 firloths; salmon, 14
dozen.

Deanery of Glasgow, 349 0 0

Oats, 27 chalders; meal, 14 bolls; capons, 24.

Subdeanery of Glasgow, 63 5 8

Meal, 39 chalders, 2 bolls; barley, 4 chalders,
9 bolls, 2 firloths.

Chantry of Glasgow, 293 6 8

The vicar portioner of Glasgow, 68 13 4

This dignitary had also various dues arising out of
taxes for pontage, oblations at Easter, &c.

In the document from which we are extracting, there is also a list of the value of the altarages in the cathedral church of Glasgow, the chaplaincies in and about the city, the "common kirks" belonging to the see, the prebendal stalls, vicarages, parsonages, and provostries, connected with the archbishopric, which were all liberally endowed both in money and grain. It is unnecessary, however, to enumerate these, and we proceed to the bishoprics in both the ecclesiastical provinces of Scotland, arranging them alphabetically rather than in the order of their foundation.

1.—BISHOPRIC OF ABERDEEN.

Annual value of bishopric in money, . . . L.1653 16 9

Wheat, 3 chalders, 8 bolls; barley, 35 chalders, 3 firlots, $3\frac{1}{2}$ pecks; meal, 24 chalders, 2 firlots; oats, 8 chalders, 2 bolls, 3 firlots, 2 pecks; mairts, 46; sheep, 262; capons, $65\frac{1}{2}$ dozen; poultry, 119 dozen; geese, 55; muirfowls, 19 dozen; swine, 17; salmon, 12 lasts 10 barrels, at £4 per barrel.

Deanery of Aberdeen, 331 2 8

Chancellor of Aberdeen, 260 0 0

Subchanter of Aberdeen, 46 13 4

With 30 chalders of barley, at that time worth £16 per chalder.

Churches belonging to the chapter, 806 6 8

2.—BISHOPRIC OF BRECHIN.

Annual value in money, L.651 12 8

Wheat, 11 bolls; barley, 61 chalders, 5 bolls; meal, 123 chalders, 3 bolls; horse corn, 1 chalder, 2 bolls; salmon, 2 barrels; capons, $11\frac{1}{2}$ dozen; poultry, 17 dozen; geese, 18.

Archdeanery of Brechin,	L.170	13	4
Deanery of Brechin,	34	6	8
Treasury of Brechin,	76	6	8

3.—BISHOPRIC OF CAITHNESS.

Annual value of bishopric in money, . . .	L.1283	19	9
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The payments in kind of this bishopric are unknown.

Deanery of Caithness,	26	13	4
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Exclusive of 10 chalders of barley.

Chantry of Caithness,	102	0	0
Treasury of Caithness,	68	13	4
Chancellorship of Caithness,	68	13	4
Archdeaconry of Caithness,	165	7	1 $\frac{3}{4}$

4.—BISHOPRIC OF DUNBLANE.

Annual value of bishopric in money, . . .	L.313	0	0
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This see was the poorest in Scotland. The revenues *in kind* were, 1 chalder wheat; 11 chalders, 3 firlots, $\frac{1}{2}$ peck barley; 50 chalders, 1 boll, 1 firlot, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ pecks meal; 9 chalders, 12 bolls oats.

Archdeaconry of Dunblane,	213	6	8
Deanery of Dunblane,	63	6	8

Exclusive of 80 chalders of victual.

5.—BISHOPRIC OF DUNKELD.

Value of bishopric in money,	L.1505	10	4
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Wheat, 4 chalders; barley, 37 chalders, 6 bolls, 3 firlots, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ pecks; meal, 64 chalders, 12 bolls, 2 firlots, 3 pecks; oats, 28 chalders, 2 bolls.

Chantry of Dunkeld,	L.54	0	0
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Exclusive of 14 chalders of victual.

Chancellary,	71	14	4
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Archdeaconry,	L.101	6	0
Treasury,	80	0	0
Churches belonging to the chapter,	230	6	8

6.—BISHOPRIC OF GALLOWAY.

Annual value in money, with the abbey of
Tongland annexed in perpetual *commendam*, L.1226 14 0

Barley, 8 chalders, 7 bolls; meal, 10 chalders,
7 bolls; malt, 8 bolls; and 268 salmon.

7.—BISHOPRIC OF MORAY.

Annual value of bishopric in money, . . . L.2033 7 4

Farm barley, 20 chalders, 11 bolls, 3 firlots;
dry multures, 11 chalders, 12 bolls, 2 firlots;
mairts, 30 $\frac{1}{4}$; sheep, 81; lambs, 83; capons,
103 dozen; salmon, 12 lasts 8 barrels;
trout, 1 barrel; ancas, 88; horse shoes, 31;
swine, 5; poultry, 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen; oats with the
straw, 103 bolls, 2 firlots.

Deanery of Moray,	130	10	0
Archdeaconry of Moray,	146	13	4
Subdeanery (including the vicarage of Auldearne),	45	2	3
Chantry,	120	0	0
Subchantry,	263	6	8

8.—BISHOPRIC OF ORKNEY.

Value of bishopric in money, L.439 18 2

Malt, 78 last, 21 meil, 3 settings, 21 mark;
flesh, 12 last, 12 meil, 14 settings, 20 mark;
4 mairts; 2 swine; 217 poultry; 24 mais
(1000 or 1500) of scra fish (young seathes
or dried fish); 8 lasts, 8 barrels, 6lbs. of
butter; 4 lasts, 2 barrels of oil; 20lbs. of
wax; and 55 fathom of peats. The whole
value of this bishopric is stated at £9421,
3s. 9d. The deductions are stated at £3114,
which left a clear revenue to the bishop of
Orkney of £6307, 3s. 9d.*

* Peterkin's "Rentals of the Earldom and Bishopric of Orkney."

9.—BISHOPRIC OF ROSS.

Value of bishopric in money, L.504 1 4

Barley, 78 chalders, 4 bolls, 1 firloft, 1 peck;
oats, 7 chalders, 4 bolls; mairts, 40; mut-
ton, 169; kids, 132; capons, 10 dozen;
poultry, 57 dozen.

Chancellary of Ross,	173	6	8
Treasury,	200	0	0
Archdeaconry,	12	13	4
Deanery,	35	0	0
Subdeanery,	200	6	8
Chantry,	66	13	4

10. 11.—BISHOPRICS OF ARGYLE AND THE ISLES.

(Returns seized by the Earl of Argyle, and lost or concealed.)

The above list is imperfect, but it is authentic as far as it goes. The value of the payments *in kind*, that is, the wheat, oats, sheep, lambs, poultry, &c. is of course uncertain, but it may be fairly estimated at twenty times the amount of the rental in money. The same observation applies to the abbeyes and monasteries.

Of the extent of the dioceses we have already spoken. The patronage enjoyed by the bishops was very extensive, and they may be said to have been the patrons of all the benefices within their several jurisdictions. The crown generally presented to the abbeyes and monasteries, and those establishments possessed a considerable number of parishes. It is unnecessary, however, and in some cases it is impossible, to enter into a detail of statistical facts, which perhaps would be uninteresting to the reader. We therefore proceed to the list of the religious houses, with their rentals, as stated in the returns.

It will be observed that the following list does not contain *all* the religious houses which were in Scotland, because it is almost impossible to obtain such a list. The payments in kind are omitted, which were of far greater value than the money; but an idea may be easily formed respecting them from those of the bishoprics, already laid before the reader.

ABBEYS, MONASTERIES, PRIORIES, &c. IN SCOTLAND.

Abernethy, parsonage and vicarage of, . . .	L.704	11	2
Aberbrothwick, or Arbroath, abbey of, . . .	2873	14	0
Balmerino, abbey of, Fifeshire,	704	18	1
Beaulieu, priory of, Inverness-shire, . . .	136	13	4
Blantyre, priory of, Lanarkshire,	131	6	8
Cambuskenneth, abbey of, Clackmannanshire, . . .	1067	3	4
Charterhouse, city of Perth,	509	6	8
Coldingham, priory of, Berwickshire,	889	6	8
Coldstream, priory of, Berwickshire,	201	0	0
Crossraguel, abbey of, Ayrshire,	466	13	4
Culross, abbey of, Perthshire,	768	16	0
Cupar-Angus, abbey of, Forfarshire,	1886	8	8
Deir, abbey of, Aberdeenshire,	875	15	2
Dundrennan, abbey of, Dumfries-shire,	500	0	0
Dunfermline, abbey of, Fifeshire,	2296	4	0
Dryburgh, abbey of, Roxburghshire,	912	3	4
Eccles, priory of,	648	3	4
Elcho, nunnery of, Perthshire,	64	6	8
Failfurd, monastery of, Ayrshire,	174	6	8
Fearne, abbey of, Ross-shire,	167	7	1½
Glenluce, abbey of, Wigtonshire,	666	13	4
Haddington, nunnery of,	309	12	10
Holyroodhouse, abbey of, Edinburgh,	2926	8	6
Holywood, abbey of, Dumfries-shire,*	247	8	8

* In Keith, £394, 18s. 8d.; also, by a MS. alteration before us, £700.

Inchaffray, abbey of, Perthshire,	L.666	13	4
Inchmahome, priory of, Perthshire,	234	0	0
Jedburgh, abbey of, Selkirkshire,	618	3	4
Kelso, abbey of, Roxburghshire,	2495	2	0
Kinloss, abbey of, Morayshire,	1152	1	0
Kilwinning, abbey of, Ayrshire,	880	3	4
Kirkhill, priory of, near Ceres, Fifeshire, . .	176	14	0
Lesmahago, Lanarkshire,	104	6	8
Lindores, abbey of, Fifeshire,	2240	14	4
Manwell, or Emanuel, priory of, near Linlith- gow,	52	15	0
Monymusk, priory of, Aberdeenshire,	400	0	0
Melrose, abbey of, Roxburghshire,	1758	0	0
Newabbey, abbey of, Dumfriesshire,	682	0	0
Newbottle, abbey of, Mid-Lothian,	1413	1	2
North-Berwick, nunnery of, Haddingtonshire,	580	8	0
Paisley, abbey of, Renfrewshire,	2467	19	0
Peebles, monastery of, Peeblesshire,	328	13	4
Pentland, parsonage of, annexed to Roslin, .	106	13	4
Pittenweem, priory of, Fifeshire,	412	12	8
Portmoak, priory of, Kinross-shire,	111	13	4
Pluscardine, priory of, Morayshire,	526	10	2
Restennet, in Forfarshire, annexed to Jedburgh.			
Saulseat, abbey of, Wigtonshire,	343	13	4
Scone, abbey of, Perthshire,	1140	6	8
Scotland Well, monastery of, Kinross-shire, .	102	0	0
Sienna (or Sciennes), nunnery of, Edinburgh,	219	6	8
St Andrew's, priory of, Fifeshire,	2237	18	1
St Anthony, hospital of, South Leith, . . .	211	15	6
St Bathan's, priory of, Berwickshire, . . .	47	2	4
St Colm, Frith of Forth, abbey of,	347	8	4
St Mary's Isle, priory of, Selkirkshire, . .	235	4	4
Strathfillan, priory of, Perthshire,	40	1	0
Tongland, Galloway, annexed to the bishopric of Galloway.			

Urquhart, priory of, Morayshire, unknown.

Whithorn, priory of, Wigtonshire, . . . L.1016 3 4

The above were the chief religious houses in Scotland, but the exact number, as we have already stated, it is almost impossible to ascertain. Amid the violence which characterized the Scottish Reformation, the chartularies and registers were in many instances either lost or intentionally destroyed; the buildings were often so completely ruined, that all traces of some of them have long since disappeared; and it sometimes happened that those individuals who seized on the temporalities of the church, destroyed the records of their predecessors for their own security in their newly acquired possessions. We have no records, for example, with the exception of the Charterhouse, of the rentals of the monasteries at Perth, where the outrage commenced; nor of those of St Andrews, with the exception of the priory; nor of those at Stirling, and other places, which the mob demolished. The same obscurity envelopes the religious establishments in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and other towns, the records of which are either mouldering in the charter-chests of these cities and towns, or are totally destroyed. It is perhaps questionable whether the information they may contain would repay the labour of investigating such of them as are in existence.

The provostries, to which we have alluded in the early part of the present volume,* are given by Keith in the following order, as they are rated in the "Collectors' Books:"—

* Vide note, chap. ii

Abernethy, in Perthshire, L.13 13 4

Barley, 2 chalders, 9 bolls, 1 firloft, 1 peck;
meal, 5 chalders, 2 bolls, 3 firlots.

Bothwell, Lanarkshire, 222 0 0

Corstorphine, Edinburghshire, 122 13 4

Crail, Fifeshire, 100 0 0

Crichton, Edinburghshire, 133 6 8

Cullen, Banffshire, 20 0 0

Dumbarton, town of, 233 6 8

Exclusive of five chalders of meal.

Dalkeith, Edinburgh, 26 13 4

Dunglass, 82 0 0

Dirleton, Haddingtonshire, 20 0 0

Dunbar, archprovostry, Haddingtonshire, 86 13 4

Guthrie, Forfarshire, 46 13 4

Innerpeffray, or Inchaffray, Perthshire, 40 0 0

Kirkheugh, near St Andrews, 333 6 8

Kirk-of-Field, city of Edinburgh, 16 0 0

Lincluden, with its prebendaries, Galloway, 483 7 3

Exclusive of 3 chalders of meal.

Maybole, Ayrshire, 20 0 0

Methven, Perthshire, 117 6 8

Orkney, 100 0 0

Restalrig, near Edinburgh, 93 6 8

Also wheat, 3 chalders, 5 bolls, 2 firlots, 1
peck; barley, 6 chalders, 12 bolls; oats,
23 chalders, 5 bolls, 3 firlots, 3 pecks; rye,
12 bolls, 3 firlots, $1\frac{1}{2}$ pecks.

Seton, Haddingtonshire, 40 0 0

Tain, Ross-shire, 20 0 0

Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, 362 6 8

St Bathans's, Berwickshire, 100 0 0

“There are likewise,” observes Keith, “in the Books of the Privy Seal, the provostries of Houston, the Virgin Mary in St Andrews, and Kilmur; an archpriestry also of Argyle. And the Appendix to archbishop Spottiswood’s History contains likewise the following:—Carnwath, Foulis, Roslin, Stirling, Kilmaurs, Sempell, Hamilton, and Tullibardine.” There is evidently the same obscurity attending the number of the establishments called provostries, as there is in the case of the abbeys and monasteries. St Giles’ church in Edinburgh, for instance, now called a *cathedral*, was a provostry, yet it is not mentioned in the list.

The limits of the present work prevent us from pursuing this subject farther, our intention being merely to lay before the reader an abstract of such rentals of the bishoprics and monastic institutions as are properly authenticated. Great obscurity envelopes the early history of Scotland, and especially that great era—the overthrow of the Romish hierarchy, and the successful establishment of the protestant religion. No country has been more essentially changed in its aspect, and the feelings of its people, than Scotland since that period. We have seen that in one generation, a system was prostrated, and almost annihilated, to which the same individuals were, but only a few years previous, devotedly attached. The transition is perhaps unexampled in the history of any country, from the extreme of Roman Catholicism, to that form of ecclesiastical polity instituted by Calvin at Geneva; from a system and ritual overloaded with ceremonies, to a system the very opposite, having no ritual or ceremonies at all; from a quiet and even superstitious reverence for the bishop of Rome, to a spurning

of his jurisdiction, an insurrectionary tumult at the very mention of his name, and a decided and unflinching hatred towards any thing which was imagined to approximate to the constitution or discipline of the Romish church. Among the many changes, we repeat, which are occasionally exhibited in the history of nations, this one of the Scottish people is not the least remarkable; and if we deplore the violence which attended their proceedings, the injudicious zeal by which they were actuated, we must at the same time remember the advantages which their struggles have secured for us, while they hazarded their lives for posterity, and obtained a freedom which can never be too highly appreciated, or too gratefully remembered.

CHAPTER XIV.

PLUNDER OF THE TEMPORALITIES.

THERE is an anecdote related by archbishop Spottiswood of his predecessor, the unfortunate archbishop Hamilton, who sent a monk of Holyroodhouse named Brand, who afterwards became a protestant, and officiated many years in the Canongate, Edinburgh, with a message to Knox, exhorting him, in the reformation of the church, "to keep the old fabric, which had been the work of many ages, or before he shook it, to be ready with a better one in its place." "Our Highlandmen," said archbishop Hamilton, "have a custom, when they intend to break young colts, to fasten them by the head with strong tethers, one of which they keep always fast until the animal is completely broken. The multitude, that beast with many heads, should be dealt with in a similar manner. Knox, I know, esteemeth me an enemy, but tell him from me he will find it true what I speak."

This was said in 1560, when the first Confession of Faith was ratified by the Convention of Estates. It is not recorded what answer Knox returned to the archbishop, but he and his more disinterested friends soon discovered how wisely the primate had spoken. The subscribers to the new Confession of Faith, who were the leading nobility and gentlemen of the kingdom, annexed a clause, that "the bishops, abbots, priors, and other

beneficed men, who had joined themselves to the protestant religion, should enjoy the rents of their benefices during their lives, they sustaining the ministers for their part, as was prescribed in the said Confession." This was the first development of that scheme which had long been projected by the lay nobility, unknown to Knox and the protestant preachers, to seize the possessions of the church as legal spoil, without any regard to their clerical coadjutors. The scheme succeeded to the utmost wishes of its contrivers. "The churchmen that were popish," observes Spottiswood, "took presently a course to make away all the manses, glebes, tithes, and all other rents possessed by them, to their friends and kinsmen; and most of those that subscribed (the Confession), getting into their hands the possessions of the church, could never be induced to part therewith, and turned greater enemies in that point of church patrimony than were the papists, or any other whatsoever."

It was no part of Knox's plan, or that of his coadjutors, that the temporalities of the deposed establishment should be diverted from ecclesiastical purposes. Viewing themselves as the lawful successors of the ancient ecclesiastics, they looked upon the temporalities of the church as their legitimate property, with which the lay nobility had nothing to do, and to which they could have no claim. But the nobility took a widely different view of the matter. Uniting themselves to the protestant cause from political motives or personal considerations, as that cause advanced, they saw the opportunity which was offered to increase their influence and their possessions by seizing the church lands, or by intriguing with the deposed bishops and

superiors of the monasteries to alienate the possessions of those establishments in favour of commendators, or temporal lordships. The clause to which archbishop Spottiswood alludes afforded the latitude they desired. While the protestant clergy were busily engaged in denouncing their fallen enemies, the covetous nobility were no less active in individually looking after their own interests; and when Knox and his colleagues demanded a reasonable allowance for their support, there was none to give, their demand was treated with disdain, the very idea of it scouted as a "devout imagination."

In the Convention of 1560, it was proposed by Knox that each of the ten superintendants, then in contemplation to be appointed, should have a salary of 500 marks, with six chalders of barley, nine chalders of meal, and three chalders of oats, which were to be "augmented or diminished at the discretion of the prince and council of the realm." It was admitted that it would be "difficult to appoint the several stipends of every minister" in the parishes, "because the charge of necessity of all will not be alike;" but it was ordered that every parish minister should have "forty bolls of meal, and twenty bolls of malt, with money to buy other provisions to his house, and serve his other necessities, the modification of which was to be referred to the judgment of the church." They likewise ordered the sum of L.9640 to be expended upon the universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, in salaries to professors, bursars, poor scholars, and officers of these universities, "for the payment of which," they said, "we think the temporalities of bishoprics and churches collegiate ought to be destinated." Alluding to the rigour with which some of the lay gentlemen were

exacting the tithes, who they said were more oppressive than the papists, they required "that the gentlemen, barons, lords, earls, and others, be content to live upon their own rents, and suffer the church to be restored to her right and liberty, that by her restitution the poor that heretofore have been oppressed may now receive some comfort and relaxation." And still farther to show that they fully expected the ancient patrimony of the fallen church to be unalienated, they declared—"The tithes that we think must be lifted for the use of the church are the tithes of hay, hemp, lint, cheese, fish, calf, veal, lamb, wool, and all sorts of corn. But because these will not suffice to discharge the necessities of the church, we think that all things dotate to hospitality in times past, with all annual rents both to burgh and land pertaining to priests, chantries, colleges, chaplaincies, and friars of all orders, to the sisters of the Seynes,* and all other of that sort, be retained to the use of the church or churches within the towns or parishes where they were founded: likewise the whole revenues of the temporalities of bishops, deans, and archdeacons, with all rents of lands pertaining to the cathedral churches, which must be applied to the entertainment of superintendants of universities."

It will thus be seen that it was the positive intention of the protestant clergy to retain all the temporalities of the church; and the indignation of Knox was expressed in unmeasured language, when he discovered the motives

* Seynes, now called Sciennes, a corruption of Sienna. The *sisters of the Seynes* were a community of nuns in the immediate neighbourhood of Edinburgh, whose establishment was dedicated to St Catherine of Sienna.

by which his lay coadjutors had been actuated. In a burst of indignation he accused them of injustice, impiety, oppression, covetousness, and other similar vices; he denounced their cupidity and avarice from the pulpit; and his example was imitated by the rest of the protestant clergy, who became the more clamorous in proportion as they felt the pressure of poverty. It is to the shameful conduct of the Scottish nobility that much of the disaffection and turbulence which the clergy exhibited at that period is to be ascribed. Secretly advised by the deposed ecclesiastics, who, seeing any hope of regaining their importance to be vain, fomented the disputes between the preachers and the laity, that the former might reap as little temporal benefit from their success as possible, the hardy and fierce barons of those times would listen to no remonstrance or intreaty, while they set at defiance every threat, and even menaced the preachers with summary chastisement. The pittances which Knox and his fellow-reformers received were in many instances ill paid, and sometimes not paid at all. A complete confusion had succeeded the ancient system of order, which the situation of the government could not control. Divided into factions, the nobility not unfrequently threatened to restore the deposed church on the slightest interference with their projects and intrigues. No country, in short, ever exhibited such a scene of weakness, disorder, and misrule, as Scotland, from the arrival of Queen Mary, in 1561, until the close of that memorable century.

The possessions of the Romish church in Scotland were so numerous, and their temporal revenues so complicated, that a minute detail cannot be expected, especially

considering the repeated changes of property which have taken place since the Reformation. In the city of Edinburgh, the magistrates received a grant from Queen Mary of all the religious houses, by which the corporation became proprietors of the Black and Grey Friars' monasteries, the nunnery of St Catharine at the Sciennes, and the other religious establishments, with all their lands, localities, feus, and emoluments. In Glasgow, Aberdeen, and other places, the corporations were equally fortunate; while in some instances the crown assumed possession, as *ultimus hæres*, of the possessions of the deposed ecclesiastics. Some of the barons, whose ancestors had granted lands to the cathedrals and religious houses for masses and requiems for departed souls, resumed possession of those lands, maintaining that, the original purposes being frustrated, and the Romish service proscribed, their ancient property ought justly to revert to them.

But although it is almost impossible to ascertain, from the loss of some of the chartularies, and the difficulty of getting at family records, the extent of the plunder at the Reformation, a few particulars will enable the reader to form some estimation of the manner in which it was accomplished. Among those of the highest rank in the country may be mentioned the ducal families of Hamilton, Buccleuch, Gordon, Argyle, Athole, and Roxburgh; the marquises of Lothian and Abercorn; the earls of Morton, Buchan, Eglinton, Cassillis (now marquis of Ailsa), Moray, Galloway, Elgin, Wemyss, Selkirk, and others of the ancient nobility of the kingdom. It is proper, however, to observe, that in many cases the ancient church lands, of which these noblemen are the

proprieters, have been acquired by purchase, by marriage, or by collateral descent. Of the noble families who got the church lands erected into temporal lordships we enumerate a few. Mark Ker, second son of Sir Andrew Ker of Cessford, was promoted in 1546 to the abbacy of Newbottle. He conformed to the Reformation, and married lady Helen Leslie, a daughter of the earl of Rothes, by whom he had four sons, the elder of whom became first earl of Lothian, and ancestor of the marquises of that name. The ancestor of the marquis of Tweeddale obtained the lordship of Dunfermline; the earl of Moray obtained the superiorities of the priory of St Andrews, the estate of Restalrig near Edinburgh, and other ecclesiastical possessions; the ancestors of the dukes of Buccleuch, Roxburgh, and Athole, obtained, among other acquisitions, the abbeys of Melrose, Kelso, and the lands belonging to the cathedral of Dunkeld. A cadet of the family of Hamilton, ancestor of the marquis of Abercorn, obtained the lands of Paisley abbey, and was created Lord Paisley; another cadet of that family received the lands of the abbey of Arbroath, and was created Lord Aberbrothwick. Sandilands of Calder, preceptor of the Templars, was created Lord Torphichen; the prior of Blantyre, in Lanarkshire, at the Reformation, was created Lord Blantyre. In short, were we to inquire minutely into the history of that period, we would find that the plunder of the church was well shared among the ancestors of our present nobility and others, and that worldly considerations induced them to forward the protestant cause rather than a conviction of its truth.

Of all this, as we have said, the protestant preachers were soon aware, and expressed themselves in no measured

terms at their rapacious conduct. "Some," says Knox, "were licentious; some had greedily grippit the possessionns of the kirk, and uthers thocht they wald not lacke thair parte of Christ's cote, yea, and that befor that ever he was hanged, as by the priehours they wer oft rebuiked. The cheif grit man that had professit Christ Jesus, and refused to subscriye the Buik of Discipline, was the Lord Erskine. And no wonder; for besydes that he has a very Jesabell to his wyfe, if the pure (poor), the scullis (schools), and the ministry of the kirk had their ain, his kitchen wald want twa partes and mair of that quhilk he now injustly possesses. Assuredly some of us have wondered how men that professed godlines could, of sa lang continewance, heir the threatenings of God against theirs, and against thair houses, and knowing thameselfis guilty of sick things as wer opinly rebuiked, and that they never had remors of conscience, neither yet intendit to restoir ony thing of that quhilk lang they had stolen and reft. But in that we have perceaved the auld proverbe to be trew, *Nothing can suffice a wretche*; and, *The bellie has no eares*." The reader will recognise a bitterness of feeling and disappointment in this moralizing strongly characteristic of its remarkable author, sufficiently explanatory of the motives by which he was actuated, alike honourable and praiseworthy in his subsequent conduct, to obtain a suitable provision for his fellow-labourers in the protestant establishment.

The adjusting of the incomes or stipends of the protestant church of Scotland, as these were collected when Episcopacy was established, and as they have been drawn by the incumbents since the Revolution of 1688, was the work of the subsequent century, and do not

come within the sphere of the present volume. It may, however, be doubted, without in the least justifying the rapacity of the laity, whether the first protestant clergy in Scotland were entitled to demand the whole property of the ancient ecclesiastics, to be assigned to their "use and sustentation." That property had been bestowed for certain purposes, and for the performance of certain services, erroneous though those services were; and it is clear that such property ought to have reverted to the descendants of the testators, when those services were declared superstitious and illegal. The great oversight in the first protestant parliaments of Scotland was, that no legislative provision was made for the incumbents, after the Romish establishment had been completely annihilated; for whatever hopes the partizans of the ancient hierarchy may have indulged from the circumstance of the queen having been educated in their religious principles, and a few of the powerful barons and Highland chieftains still adhering to it, the events which speedily followed, and the rapid spread of the protestant doctrines over the country, must have convinced them of the utter impossibility of ever again obtaining an ascendancy, or even combating with the increasing protestants. Nor was it likely that those barons and others, who had seized the temporal possessions of the deposed church, would willingly relinquish them to their former possessors, any more than to the protestant clergy. On the contrary, the very attempt to restore the fallen hierarchy would have caused a confederacy among them sufficiently alarming to any government, but more especially to such governments as existed in Scotland, the inefficiency, weakness, and

incapacity of which, are too prominently recorded in the history of the country. The protestant clergy, therefore, who had succeeded the deposed ecclesiastics in the parishes, although not entitled to all the immunities and privileges which their Romish predecessors enjoyed, were right in insisting on an adequate provision being made for their support; and a wise government would have carefully, as in England, taken early cognisance of this important matter.

But these times have passed away for ever, and the transactions and events by which they are distinguished are now matters of history; yet the annals of that memorable era are of intense importance; and, if history be the mirror of the past, they teach us many salutary and instructive lessons. We peruse with anxiety the unhappy prosecutions which were instituted by some of the Scottish prelates to stop the progress of truth and the freedom of the human mind; we deplore the fatal steps which they took to prop their system when formidably threatened, and tottering to its very base; and we see it overthrown with satisfaction, as a just retribution for those cruelties which they practised ere they were overwhelmed in its ruins. If the victory was dearly purchased, it was at the same time worthy of the price; and while we lament the imprudencies of the reformers, their rash and injudicious zeal, and the intolerance which they displayed towards their fallen opponents, we must recollect the times in which they lived, the cause in which they were engaged, and the injuries they suffered. If that struggle had been "of men," it would, long ere this time, have come to nought; but the experience of three centuries has amply proved that the hand of divine

providence was lifted against the superstitions of the Romish church; and the emancipation from its spiritual and temporal despotism has spread knowledge abroad on the earth, and procured innumerable advantages to those kingdoms which have renounced its supremacy. Countries which still acknowledge its sway, or where its influence predominates, feel its withering touch even on the soil; enterprise is checked by its exclusiveness and rapacity; and life and property are insecure by the sectarian dispositions of its supporters. The Romish church, doubtless, suited the exigencies of the times in which it was predominant; but experience and observation amply prove that its spirit is totally at variance with civilization and improvement.

CHAPTER XV.

PRESENT STATE OF THE ROMISH CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.

WE have already observed that, after the total suppression of the Romish establishment in Scotland, the word *heresy* assumed a different meaning, and was retorted by the protestant preachers with the utmost bitterness on their deposed adversaries. Severe enactments were passed by the government against the exercise of the ritual and ceremonies of the church of Rome—enactments which were rigidly enforced against all who were prosecuted for religion. Those of the Romish church who had not embraced the protestant cause, or remained in the kingdom, found themselves reduced from affluence to the most abject poverty, without residences or shelter, and the objects of derision and hatred. The slightest attempt to celebrate mass excited a general attack from the pulpits against *idolatry* and its abettors, and a peremptory demand that they should be punished by the civil power, and the government was abused in no measured language which delayed to put the laws in force. The ancient Romish hierarchy in Scotland and its succession became literally extinct, and all that remained of that once powerful establishment were a few priests, who either lurked in the large towns, privately administering the rites of their religion to their adherents, or betook

themselves to the fastnesses of the Highlands, where the protestant cause had made feeble progress, and where most of the chiefs and powerful families remained attached to the Romish communion.

In the reign of Queen Mary, and during the minority of James VI., we find in the criminal records numerous instances of priests and others prosecuted by the government for *heresy*, that is, adhering to the proscribed church, and for "celebrating the mass."* In 1563, archbishop Hamilton and forty-eight others, most of whom were priests, were prosecuted in the High Court of Justiciary for celebrating mass at Paisley, Maybole, Kirkoswald, and other towns, and all of them were ordered to be imprisoned during pleasure, particularly in the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton. The Countess of Argyle about that period was compelled by the preachers to do penance, clothed in a white sheet, in the church of Stirling, for being present at the baptism of king James VI. in Stirling Castle, which was performed according to the rites of the church of Rome by archbishop Hamilton. In 1570, Lady Seton, second wife of the fourth Lord Seton, a French lady, who came to Scotland with Mary of Guise, the mother of Queen Mary, was prosecuted with her son, Robert Seton, for hearing mass, "intercommuning with and resetting Jesuits," &c. In 1571 and 1572, a great many persons, chiefly priests, were prosecuted in the same manner, some of whom were "denounced rebels, and their moveable goods confiscated

* See the "Criminal Trials in Scotland," three vols. 4to., especially those in the reigns of Queen Mary and James VI., by Robert Pitcairn, Esq. where the reader will find most valuable information on Scottish history.

to the king's use as fugitives from the law." In 1601, we find a gentleman named Barclay, brother of Sir Patrick Barclay of Tollie, "dilatit of perjurie, and hearing of mass, contrair the actis of Parliament." In 1604, a burghess of Perth was prosecuted in the High Court of Justiciary for hearing mass in a private house in Perth celebrated by a priest named Abercrombie, but the sentence is not recorded. Three years afterwards a priest, named Murdoch or Mackie, was tried for the like offence, committed some years previously in various houses in the northern districts, especially at Strathbogie, and Dunrobin Castle in Sutherland. This unfortunate priest was punished by being compelled to stand two hours at the market-cross of Edinburgh dressed in his clerical habits, with his chalice in his hand, after which his "mass-clothes" and chalice were burnt in a fire kindled on the street for that purpose, and he himself was banished the kingdom. In 1613, two priests were prosecuted for hearing, saying, and celebrating mass in the house of a citizen who dwelt in the Cowgate of Edinburgh. They were ordered to be banished, and a gentleman named Logan, who is described as portioner of Restalrig near Edinburgh, was fined £1000 Scots for being present. In 1615, a Jesuit named John Ogilvie was tried and executed at Glasgow for declining the king's authority as temporal head of the church, "alleging the supremacy of the pope, hearing and saying mass," &c., which was construed into high treason. This case, which is one of peculiar atrocity and cruelty, reflects indelible disgrace on the government of that period, and equals any of those infamous tragedies which the Romish prelates caused to be exhibited when in

their power and grandeur. A priest named Moffat was banished from Scotland in 1615 for hearing mass in the mansion-house of Auchindown in Aberdeenshire, and a number of gentlemen were ordered to find security for *harbouring* or *resetting* Jesuit priests. "During the reign of James VI.," observes Mr Pitcairn, "both before and after his accession to the English throne, seldom did a year pass over without some rumours of fresh attempts of the Jesuits against his life, or against the religion as by law established in England. There can be no doubt, from a perusal of the State Papers and histories of that period, that some new attempts on the part of Spain and her auxiliaries were about to ripen into action, when the early detection and execution of numerous emissaries of the *Society of Jesus* frustrated its execution."*

These observations of the learned writer just quoted are founded on the real state of the case. In the outset, after the Reformation had triumphed, the first protestant clergy appear to have had no other intention than to erect another infallible and persecuting hierarchy in place of that which they had overthrown. "The free exercise of private judgment," it has been appropriately remarked, "was most heartily abhorred by the first reformers, except only where the persons who assumed it had the good fortune to be exactly of their opinion. It is obvious also, that the freedom for which our first reformers contended, did not by any means include a freedom to think as the Catholics thought, that is to say, to think as all Europe had thought for many ages, and

* Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. p. 330.

as the greater part of Europe thought at that very time. The complete extirpation of the Catholic Church, not merely as a public establishment, but as a tolerated sect, was the avowed object of our first reformers."* At subsequent periods, during the reign of James I., the Romish priests frequently brought the high penalties of the law upon themselves by their seditious plottings and conspiracies. They were executed or banished, not because they were priests, or Roman Catholics, but because they were dangerous and notoriously disaffected persons, continually engaged in and contriving plots to annoy the government, overthrow the protestant church, and establish the authority of the bishop of Rome in all its pristine vigour and splendour. Various edicts, undoubtedly severe, but, so far as we can judge, suitable to the circumstances and spirit of the times, were issued against them, resulting altogether from political and not from religious considerations.

During the reign of Charles I. we know little of the state of the Romish church in Scotland. It had still its adherents in the large towns, and it was professed in many districts of the Highlands and Islands, especially the Hebrides, where it still hovers, exercising a flickering sway over the rustic inhabitants. We know, however, that when the disputes began in that reign which ended in the great Civil War, many Popish priests came over from the Continent to Scotland, and mingled themselves with the disputes between the King and the Covenanters, fomenting as much as possible the quarrel, and secretly widening the breach. But the various

* Edinburgh Review, September 1816.

public documents which were drawn up by the Presbyterians of that period, especially the Solemn League and Covenant, in which Popery was among the *heresies* which were to be rooted out and utterly extirpated, effectually restrained the designs of the Jesuit priests and others to prop up their fallen system. During the domination of Cromwell, Scotland enjoyed a religious as well as a civil respite: and the adherents of popery appear to have greatly diminished. Most of the nobility and gentlemen had renounced the Romish church, and the protestant doctrines were generally preached throughout the country. The massacre committed by the Irish papists in 1641 had spread a general alarm, and the people beheld with horror a religious system, the professors of which could perpetrate such an atrocity. In Scotland, indeed, the church of Rome, or any approximation to it, was viewed with peculiar jealousy; and this was the great objection urged by the Presbyterians against the Protestant Episcopal Church, that it was another version, in its constitution and government, of the odious hierarchy of Rome. During the reign of Charles II., also, we know little of the state of Popery in Scotland. Its professors appear to have sunk into obscurity, and to have been as much afraid of the threats of the Covenanters as they were of the terrors of the law. The government, occupied in one continued and sullen struggle between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, using every energy, on the one hand, to support the frail establishment of the Episcopal Church, against which the Covenanters waged a determined warfare, and, on the other, engaged in subduing those same refractory Covenanters, who were treated as rebels, were little annoyed

by the Roman Catholics, who appear to have beheld the struggle in silence. Whatsoever may have been their hopes at the accession and during the short reign of James II., they were speedily dissipated by the deposition of that prince; and the Revolution of 1688, an event which, being conducted on protestant principles, and as demonstrating the decided opposition of the nation to popery, showed them how unlikely it was that they could expect any reaction.

The public attendance upon mass by the chief officers of state in Edinburgh, in 1686, after the accession of James, excited a riot in that city, and many persons of distinction were insulted by the mob as they returned from the chapel-royal at Holyroodhouse, where the Romish worship was celebrated. "The affront," says Arnot, "was revisited with great severity. A journeyman baker being ordered by the privy council to be whipped through the Canongate for being concerned in the riot, the mob rose, rescued him from punishment, beat the executioner, and continued all night in an uproar. The king's foot guards, and soldiers from the Castle, were brought to assist the town-guard in quelling this disturbance. They fired among the mob, and killed two men and a woman. Next day several were scourged; but the privy council were so afraid of the populace, that they appointed a double file of musqueteers and pikemen to prevent the sufferers from being rescued. An information was at the same time lodged against a drummer by two papists, for saying, 'he could in his heart run his sword through them;' and although he declared that he meant the rabble, not the papists, he was condemned and shot. And a fencing-master, for approving of the late tumult, and

drinking confusion to the papists, although at the same time he drank the king's health, was hanged at the Cross."*

The accession of William III. and the alteration of the succession to the crown, were other proofs that popery had completely fallen. As the Scottish Roman Catholics, especially those in Dumfriesshire and the Highlands, were notoriously known to be enemies to the Revolution, and determined supporters of James, they, along with the deposed Episcopalians, were narrowly and vigilantly watched by the government. The insurrections of 1715 and 1745, in which the Roman Catholics and the Protestant Episcopalians were deeply implicated, still farther brought them under the strict cognizance of the government, who watched their proceedings, and threatened them with a summary infliction of the penal laws. Nor was it possible, until about the end of the last century, especially after the death of Prince Charles Edward, to procure a relaxation and repeal of some of those laws which it had been found necessary in preceding reigns to enact against them.

In the year 1778, some propositions were made in Parliament to repeal sundry penal laws against the Roman Catholics in Scotland, which caused a serious mob in the city of Glasgow on the 18th of October that year, when they beset a house in which a Romish congregation were assembled, broke the windows, and besieged the place till late in the evening, when the congregation were allowed to retire. On the 2d of February, 1779, a similar but more alarming tumult occurred in Edinburgh. The mob burnt one chapel and

* Arnot's History of Edinburgh, 4to.

plundered another, and on the following day they carried off and destroyed the books, furniture, and other property of the priests and lay members of the Romish communion. Fortunately no lives were lost, although the riot, notwithstanding the presence of the military, continued a whole day. The mob also directed their attention to those residences whose owners or occupiers were accused of being favourable to the repeal of those laws. Among those threatened was the house of Principal Robertson, the historian, on account of a speech he had made in the General Assembly of 1778 on that subject, and it was saved solely by a military guard. Property to the amount of nearly L.2000 was destroyed on this occasion, which the corporation was obliged to pay to the Roman Catholics. In various other towns and districts a strong feeling prevailed against the proscribed members of the Romish church, which private circumstances only restrained from breaking forth with fury. At that time the Roman Catholic chapels were mean buildings, situated in obscure and dirty lanes, some of them being merely rooms in houses fitted up for the purpose.

The events which characterized the French Revolution, however, absorbed those violent manifestations of the populace, and the sufferings and virtues of the French clergy, whom that dreadful convulsion drove into Britain, caused a powerful reaction in the public mind. The long protracted war which followed, and its splendid successes, softened the rancour of religious prejudices; and by the time it was concluded, a new generation was in existence, who, forgetting or renouncing the ancient animosities of their forefathers to the Romish church, not only beheld its members without hatred, but united with

them in their attempts at what they termed political emancipation. That emancipation, so long resisted, which divided the greatest statesmen of the day in opinion, and sometimes caused the dissolution of cabinets, was at length carried by the only statesman in England who could have achieved it; and while it was protested against by many wise, pious, and learned men, it was nevertheless hailed with satisfaction by the great majority of the nation as a just and conciliatory measure. It yet remains to be proved whether the results anticipated from it will be gratifying and satisfactory, or whether it was prudent to disturb those landmarks which our ancestors deemed necessary to preserve the Protestant institutions of a Protestant empire. It is to be feared, from the struggle which has been some time in progress for the ascendancy, that the spirit of Popery, like its principles, is unchanged, and, as its professors vainly boast of their church, unchangeable; and that the mask of liberal opinions in politics is merely assumed to further their projects for undermining and subverting the churches of these kingdoms. The struggle, we repeat, is not now for toleration, but for ascendancy; and *that* is demanded as a right, which formerly would have been hardly asked as a boon. Time alone will disclose those mighty events, some of which are fast hastening on us, and others of which are still in embryo; but it will be wise in those who are properly sensible of the blessings and advantages they have derived from the reformation of religion in the sixteenth century, to watch narrowly the aspect of the times, for they have an opponent to contend with in the church of Rome as cunning, crafty, and treacherous, as it is plausible, insidious, and powerful. And, while

they are disposed to concede every political freedom to their fellow-subjects, of whatsoever religious creed, consistent with the welfare of the state and the institutions of the country, they ought to beware of palliating, excusing, or abetting the progress of a system the most despotic, degrading, and dangerous—inimical alike to human freedom, to human happiness, and sound and sober Christianity—which the world has ever witnessed in any age.

The Roman Catholic church in Scotland at the present time has no hierarchy such as it possesses in Ireland, where it has all the apparatus of an establishment, the Romish bishops calling themselves by the names of the respective sees which belong to the Protestant church, and boldly claiming to be the indigenous clergy of the country. In Scotland and in England, the Romish church was not only deposed, but its episcopal succession became extinct; while in Ireland it was simply deposed, and supplanted by the Protestant established church. The church of Rome has only what it calls a *mission* in Great Britain; the bishops do not take the ancient titles of the Scottish and English sees, but are called *vicars-apostolic*, the country being divided into districts. They have titles from the Greek and the defunct African churches bestowed on them by the Pope, who pretends to have a jurisdiction over the former which has long been denied by the members of the Greek church, and who evidently makes no exertions to resuscitate the latter. Thus, one of those *vicars-apostolic*, as they are termed, who was consecrated at Edinburgh in 1833, was dignified with the title of bishop of Ceramis, which, it seems, is no titular distinction.—“It is an ancient episcopal see; and

if there were any Catholics there, he would be obliged to look after them, but as there are not, the Pope dispenses him from residence, and appoints him his vicar-apostolic in Scotland; still he is bishop in ordinary of Ceramis.* The reader will observe that his holiness of Rome is exceedingly complimentary to those counties which enjoy the inferior honour of such *missions*. The *mission* is designated *in partibus infidelium*, so that England and Scotland are classified among the “*unfaithful*,” because they reject the supremacy and ritual of Rome.

In Scotland there are three vicars-apostolic who superintend the affairs of the *mission*, as they term it, the country being divided into three districts—the Eastern, the Western, and the Northern;—the residence of the first being in Edinburgh, of the second in Glasgow, and of the third in or near Aberdeen. The Eastern District includes the counties of Forfar and Kincardine north of the Tay, the central counties of Fife, Perth, Kinross, and Clackmannan, Stirling, and Linlithgowshire, and all the counties in the south of Scotland to the English Border. The Western District includes Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Wigtonshire, and all the western counties, the Hebrides, and the southern part of Inverness-shire. The Northern District includes all the northern counties of Scotland, with the Orkney and Shetland Islands. It appears from the Edinburgh Almanack for 1835, that there are in the

* Letter explanatory of this circumstance, with reference to the consecration of the Right Rev. Dr Carruthers as vicar-apostolic of the Eastern District of Scotland, in the “Edinburgh Catholic Magazine for March 1833,” a publication at present discontinued.

Eastern District of Scotland eleven Roman Catholic stations, superintended by a bishop and fifteen priests, including the president and two professors at the seminary called Blairs, Kincardineshire; in the Western District there are eighteen stations, superintended by the bishop and twenty-six priests; and in the Northern District there are twenty-three stations, superintended by the bishop and twenty-seven priests. Thus, the total number of the Romish clergy in Scotland is three bishops or vicars-apostolic,* and sixty nine priests; the total number of stations for their *mission* being fifty-four—a most insignificant number, considering the extent of the country, yet not greatly exceeded at present by the Protestant Episcopal Church, also once the Established Church of Scotland.

Proceeding more minutely in detail respecting the present state of the Roman Catholics in Scotland, we shall follow their own divisions of the country into districts. It is proper to observe, that the adherents of the Romish church, although all, generally speaking, come under the same designation, may be rightly distinguished in Scotland into *casual* or occasional, and *indigenous* or hereditary. The former consist almost exclusively of Irish labourers, mechanics, and emigrants from that country, and are chiefly found in the populous cities and towns, where they abound to a great extent. Thus, in Glasgow, there are said to be upwards of 20,000 Irish Roman Catholics; in Edinburgh and its vicinity they exceed 12,000; in Paisley they are said to amount to 10,000 or

* At present there is a fourth bishop resident in Glasgow as coadjutor to the bishop there; but as we presume this is a mere temporary arrangement, occasioned solely by the infirmities of age, we have omitted to notice it in the text.

12,000: in Dundee to about 4000; in Greenock and Port Glasgow, to between 4000 and 5000; in the town of Airdrie, in Lanarkshire, to upwards of 800; and, with the other Irish settlers throughout Scotland, will perhaps amount, on a round calculation, to upwards of 60,000, for the most part of the lower orders of that kingdom. When Sir John Sinclair published his "Statistical Account of Scotland," towards the end of the last century, there were very few Irish in the country; and the Roman Catholics in Scotland, native and Irish, were calculated to amount to 70,000; but we have at the present time a population almost equal to that, and which is rapidly increasing, of Irish located in the large cities and towns. As it is not likely that the original numbers of the Scottish Roman Catholics have much decreased, we may safely state the entire population, Scotch and Irish, within Scotland, to exceed at present 120,000.

By the *hereditary* or *indigenous* Roman Catholics, we mean those of the present time whose ancestors never adopted the sentiments of the Reformers, who from generation to generation for three centuries have adhered to the ancient system, and who may therefore be properly said to be the remains of the ancient Romish establishment in Scotland. Although most of the nobility at or after the Reformation became Protestants, yet there were some powerful noble families who, until within the last century, continued attached to the Romish communion. Among these, we may mention the Dukes of Gordon, who renounced the Romish faith within the last century, and are now members of the Protestant Episcopal Church; the Earls of Nithsdale, Wintoun, Linlithgow,

and Callender, and Lord Herries, attainted in 1715 for being concerned in the insurrection of that year; the Earl of Perth and Lord Lovat, attainted for being in the Rebellion of 1745; several baronets, and most of the Highland chiefs and their clans, who joined the Pretender's standard. A few of the descendants of those attainted noblemen and gentlemen still adhere to the Romish church; but the most of them have renounced the Popish religion, and now belong to the Protestant Episcopal Church. The noble families in Scotland who are Roman Catholics are only two, Stuart, Earl of Traquair, Peeblesshire, and Radcliffe Livingstone, Earl of Newburgh, whose family chiefly resides in England. There is only one baronet. Some Highland families, and country gentlemen in the north of Scotland, also remain attached to the ancient hierarchy.

The great proportion, as we have already observed, of the indigenous Roman Catholics is to be found among the Highlanders and in the counties of Banff and Aberdeen, where they have remained from the era of the Reformation (the Reformers having completely neglected the Highlands), undergoing little or no change than what has arisen from the progress of population and of emigration. Within late years, however, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland have done, and are still doing, much to instruct the Highlanders in the Protestant doctrines, aided by the exertions of various societies, supported in Edinburgh and elsewhere by pious and philanthropic individuals; and the Scottish Episcopal Church, whose members are also numerous in the Highlands, has also come nobly forward in the same disinterested cause.

The districts which are chiefly inhabited by the indigenous Roman Catholics may be thus enumerated:—Aberdeenshire is a centre of that population, including those who inhabit the counties of Banff and Moray. “I remember,” says Mr Lauchlan Shaw, minister at Elgin, 1775, “when a seminary or academy of priests was openly kept at Glenlivat (Banffshire), where the languages, philosophy, and divinity were taught, and a draught of the most promising boys was sent to France (the College of Douay), who returned home priests and Jesuits.”* That seminary is now discontinued, and incorporated with St Mary’s College at Blairs in Kincardineshire, which we shall subsequently notice; and the writer goes on to state, that (1775) “a popish meeting-house continues in Glenlivat, which at high mass is attended by upwards of 600 persons.” He averages the number of Roman Catholics in his time in the districts of Glenlivat, Glenrinn, and Strathavon in Banffshire, Abertarf, Achadron, and Glengary in Inverness-shire, and in Strathglass, to exceed 3000 persons. In the district called *the Enzie*, which forms that part of the coast of Banffshire extending from the river Spey to the town of Cullen, they amount to nearly 2400. A great many are to be found in the other parts of the Eastern and Northern Highlands, widely spread throughout the counties; and there are considerable numbers of them in various parts of Perthshire, and in the counties of Ross and Inverness. There are few or none in Sutherland and Caithness, and none in the Orkney and Shetland Isles. On the western shore, and in the West Highlands, the

* History of the Province of Moray, 4to., 1775.

great centre of the Romish population, is a district of considerable extent, which may be said to include Arisaig, Moidart, Morven, Knoydart, and some parts of Kintail, but it is impossible to define the boundaries with accuracy. In this district, Lismore, an island in the lower part of Loch Linnhe in Argyleshire, and anciently an episcopal seat of the bishop of Ross, may be considered the central point.

In the Hebrides or Western Islands, Barra, anciently belonging to the clan M'Neil, containing a population of nearly 2500, may be said to be Roman Catholic, for it contains very few Protestants. North Uist, about twenty miles long, and from twelve to fifteen broad, belonging to Lord Macdonald, with a population of 5000; South Uist, twenty-one miles long, and from eight to nine broad, with a population of nearly 6500; and Benbecula, eight to nine miles in length and breadth, lying between the above-mentioned islands, the ancient property of the chiefs of Clanranald, are almost exclusively inhabited by indigenous Roman Catholics; and these islands comprise the most considerable proportion of the population of the range called the Long Island. In the inner isles, Canna, north-west of Rum, four miles long and one in breadth, Eigg or Egg, five miles long and about three in breadth, and Rum and Skye in part, abound with Roman Catholics; in the other islands there are few, and in some none. It is easy to see from such a scattered district, and from the priests being few in number, that the performance of public service is necessarily deficient; for the remote and more distant of their followers have no opportunity of profiting by their instructions, except by either travelling to the nearest station, or by being

occasionally visited. In those districts some of the chapels are in a miserable condition. In Badenoch, "the place of worship is a most miserable hovel, incapable of defending the people when assembled from the inclemency of the weather; it is also in such a ruinous state, that it can scarcely be used with safety." In Glengary, "the Catholics, in respect of a chapel, are in the same wretched condition with those in Badenoch, and they may be said at present to worship their God on Sundays, and assist at the holy mysteries, in the open air."*

The Roman Catholic clergy in Scotland are now educated at St Mary's College, Blairs, an establishment of their own, removed thither from Aquhorties. The college is pleasantly situated on the right bank of the river Dee, within six miles of Aberdeen. It is a fine establishment, admirably adapted to the domestic comfort of the students, and has been liberally supported by some lay gentlemen of their communion. The seminary alluded to at Glenlivat, and also a kind of college at Lismore, has been discontinued. It has a president, two professors, and an officer styled a *procurator*, all of whom are ecclesiastics. The course of study, besides the common branches of education, comprises Latin, Greek, French, Italian and Spanish if required, poetry, rhetoric, mathematics, philosophy, and divinity. The students are admitted from the age of eleven to sixteen. It is also a kind of boarding establishment; but those

* The "Catholic Directory for Scotland, 1835," edited by the Rev. John Macpherson, Roman Catholic clergyman at Dundee—a very interesting work, which contains much valuable historical and statistical information at a very cheap price, from which a great part of this chapter is compiled.

who are deemed qualified for the priesthood pay board only the first year, after which they are supported by the establishment. It appears that those students are transferred to Paris or Rome to finish their education before ordination. A small chapel is attached to the college, which is attended by the students and such persons in the neighbourhood as choose to resort to the ministrations of the officiating clergy of the establishment. It must not be forgotten that there are few inducements to become a Roman Catholic priest in Scotland; and it has been well observed, that from the poverty of their flocks, the office of priest is truly one of religion and privation. The church revenue is absolutely nothing, nor are we aware of any foreign grants for its maintenance. A grant of L.1000 per annum, some years since, given by the government, has been suppressed, and all on which these devoted and self-denying men have to depend are the scanty pittance afforded to them by their flocks, which in those districts, though large, are in great poverty and destitution. Whatsoever may be the opinion formed of the Romish church, as a system, we hesitate not to say that the poverty and privations to which the clergy of that church dedicate themselves in Scotland is almost incredible, and is hardly surpassed in any country. It is an act of self-denial which, resulting as it must from a strong conviction of the truths of their system, and a romantic attachment to its cause and service, is "above all Greek, above all Roman fame."

But one of the most remarkable steps on the part of the supporters of the Romish church in Scotland at the present time, and one which doubtless, a century ago, would

have provoked a tumult, and excited marked notice in the legal ecclesiastical courts of Scotland, is the establishment of a nunnery in the vicinity of Edinburgh on an imposing scale. This building, or range of buildings, is in a most retired and romantic situation at the head of the common belonging to the city of Edinburgh called Burntsfield Links, to which is attached a beautiful chapel in the Saxon style of architecture. It is called St Margaret's Convent, from the celebrated Scottish queen of that name, and was opened for the reception of inmates in February 1835, when a grand service was performed on the occasion by the resident bishop and clergy. The nuns or *religieuse* in it are called *Sisters of Charity*, and are, it is said, chiefly from England and the Continent. Their exact number we cannot ascertain, for little appears to be known, and as little curiosity excited, respecting the internal affairs of the establishment. "The twofold object," we are told, "which the Ladies of St Margaret's convent have in view, is the education of their own sex, both in the higher classes of society and amongst the poor, and the relief of the sick and destitute."* A large enclosed mansion-house in the Canongate of Edinburgh, called Milton House (once the residence of a Lord of Session of that name), has been annexed as a branch establishment of this Convent, "for such among the ladies of the community as devote themselves to the arduous duties of Sisters of Charity." The Convent is of course intended as a regular nunnery, for the residence of those visionary females who are induced by fanaticism *to take the veil*, but it also

* The "Catholic Directory for Scotland, 1835," by the Rev. John Macpherson, Dundee.

professes to be a boarding and day school for the education of ladies, at certain specified charges, where all the higher branches of female education are taught. A similitude in dress appears to be a rule of the establishment, furnished at the parents' expense;—"for summer, buff gingham; for winter, brown stuff—white on Sundays." Whether this Convent is likely to suit the purpose of its projectors, or where they have obtained the money for its erection and completion, we have not heard, and probably it will be carefully concealed. Without intending any invidious reflection on the Roman Catholic clergy concerned in it, or on the inmates of the above Convent, called *Sisters of Charity* or the *Ladies of St Margaret's*, who are doubtless pious and enthusiastic in their views, the sound-thinking mind must deprecate such institutions as positively unnecessary, and in a country such as this even dangerous, where the parental dwelling ought rather to be the sphere in which the female mind is taught the lessons of prudence, virtue, and religion; and not in a community of isolated females, whose affections are contracted, withered, and deadened, by the needless austerities which they practise, and the religious system of which they form a part; and where, in consequence of the instructions imparted to female boarders and scholars, the peace of Protestant families may be broken by theological dissensions. As to the latter observation, the pecuniary resources of the Roman Catholics in Scotland, and whence they have derived the money to purchase the property of this convent, to finish it in its present state, and to erect some fine chapels recently finished, are truly inexplicable; but this is a subject respecting which curiosity would be justly deemed impertinent.

To return, however, from this long species of digression, we present to the reader a more minute account of the state of the Romish church in the several districts of their *Scottish mission*, as furnished by one of its clergy,* and consequently under the sanction of the Scottish Romish bishops or vicars-apostolic. Beginning with the *Eastern District*, because in it is situated the metropolis, in Edinburgh there are two handsome chapels, one in the street called Broughton Street, in the New Town, and the other in the street called Lothian Street, in a southern suburb of the Old Town. "About forty years ago," observes Mr Chambers, "there were exceedingly few persons of this (the Romish) persuasion in Edinburgh, and these were chiefly French refugees, some old ladies of quality of decayed families, and some Highland porters. From that period to the present time, and especially within the last fifteen years, the increase of Roman Catholics has been immense, principally, however, from the vast emigration of Irish."† Previous to 1813-14, they used to assemble in a small chapel in a common stair, in the ancient and now venerable-looking lane called Blackfriars Wynd on the south side of the High Street; but at that time, under the auspices and by the exertions of the late Bishop Cameron, the present commodious and elegant chapel in Broughton Street was erected at the expense of £8000, obtained by subscriptions and collections. It is a large building in the Gothic style, with a pleasing front, and fitted up internally in a plain but neat manner. The remains of the venerable Bishop Cameron,

* The "Catholic Directory," already quoted, edited by the Rev. John Macpherson.

† Gazetteer of Scotland, article Edinburgh.

under whose auspices it was erected, and who was held in great esteem in Edinburgh, and those of Bishop Paterson, his successor, are interred within the rails of the altar. In 1835 the edifice in the Old Town of Edinburgh dedicated to St Patrick was opened with grand ceremonial. They likewise purchased St John's Episcopal Chapel in the village of Portobello near Edinburgh, which they have fitted up for their service; and which is attended by their adherents in that village, and in the neighbouring town of Musselburgh. There are four resident priests in Edinburgh, exclusive of the bishop, who itinerate throughout all the towns and villages in the vicinity of that city where any of their people reside.—The chapel in *Dumfries* is a spacious building erected in 1813, and is the only Romish place of worship of any note in the south-eastern district of Scotland. The congregation, which comprises all the Catholics between Dumfries and the English Border, is superintended by two priests, and is said to amount to nearly 3000 souls.—At the village of *Dalbeattie*, by Castle Douglas, half-way between Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, there is a chapel, which owes its establishment to a lady named Maxwell.—At *Kirkconnel* and *New Abbey* in Dumfriesshire, there is also a small congregation, who find accommodation in the mansion-house of a gentleman of their communion in that neighbourhood.—There is a chapel in *Traquair House*, near Peebles, where the service is performed by the chaplain of the Earl of Traquair, “an advantage,” we are told, “particularly felt by Catholics resorting in the season to the now well known and highly valued spa of Innerleithen.”—In *Stirling* there is no regular chapel, but a hall is rented for the purpose, and the priest

there itinerates throughout the county, and extends his operations to the villages of Lennoxtown of Campsie, Torrance, Kilsyth, Milngavie, and Kirkintilloch, places which abound with Irish labourers. He also itinerates to Dunfermline in Fife, where there is a handful of Roman Catholics in a county proverbial in all its other towns for containing scarcely one.—*Crief*, in Perthshire, contains a small chapel.—In the *city of Perth*, a handsome and commodious chapel has been erected, which was opened in December 1823, by a detachment of priests from Edinburgh.—In *Dundee* a beautiful chapel has been erected, the former one not being commodious enough to contain the congregation. About twenty years ago, we are informed that there were only about fifty Roman Catholics in that town, and now they amount to about 4000, and are daily increasing. “This rapid increase,” says the Rev. Mr Macpherson, “is to be mainly attributed to the great influx of Irish Catholics, who, for want of employment in their native country, are obliged to look elsewhere for those means of support which they are unable to obtain at home. The flourishing state of trade in this town, and its increasing prosperity, has drawn to it great numbers of them, and enabled them to find constant employment in the various branches of industry.” The above is the number of Romish chapels in the Eastern District of Scotland, and, with one or two exceptions, they have schools attached to them for the education of their children in their own principles. There are three of these schools in Edinburgh, one in Dumfries, one in Perth, and one in Dundee.

Turning to the *Western District*, the second grand division of the *Roman Catholic Mission* in Scotland, we

naturally direct our attention to Glasgow, the first commercial city in Scotland, in which, including its vicinity, as many Irish Roman Catholics are now located as about half a century ago composed its entire population, superintended by a bishop and three priests. In Glasgow there are two chapels—the one in Great Clyde Street, fronting the river, a magnificent Gothic edifice, and unquestionably the finest structure of the kind in Britain, capable of containing nearly 3000 persons, and the expense of which has been calculated at nearly £18,000, chiefly raised by subscriptions, collections, and donations. This chapel was begun in 1814, and finished in 1816; the former chapel was in an obscure lane in the street called the Gallowgate. The other chapel was opened in 1826, and accommodates 600 persons, serving at the same time as a school during the week and on the Sunday evenings. “Besides it,” says the Rev. Mr Macpherson in his ‘Catholic Directory for Scotland, 1835,’ “there are in Glasgow and its suburbs five other Catholic schools. The number of children on the roll of attendance in the six schools generally amounts to 1400. The five principal schools have hitherto been supported by subscriptions, given chiefly by benevolent Protestant gentlemen of the city. By means of these subscriptions, and the small fee of one penny per week paid by each scholar, unless, owing to the great poverty of his parents, he be furnished with a line of gratuitous admission from one of the pastors, the schools have hitherto been maintained in a very effective condition. In the city, suburbs, and adjoining villages, there are eleven Sunday schools, the expenses of which are defrayed by the bishop, and the parents of the young children attending them. At a

low calculation, there are 3000 children and grown up young persons who receive the benefit of religious instruction every Sunday in these schools." One of the resident priests in Glasgow officiates every sixth Sunday at Hamilton, eleven miles distant, where there are about 400 Roman Catholics, chiefly Irish, employed in the various works in that neighbourhood. Another officiates every sixth Sunday at Airdrie, about the same distance from Glasgow, where there are nearly 800 Irish. In none of these towns is there a chapel, their service being held in a hall or large room of a house.—In *Paisley* there is a commodious chapel, built in 1808, which can accommodate 1000 persons. It is said there are upwards of 12,000 Roman Catholics, chiefly Irish, in that town, including the suburbs, and the villages of Neilston, Croft-head, Gateside, West Arthurlie, Barrhead, Linwood, Elderslie, Johnston, Beith, Lochwinnoch, Kilbarchan, &c. which are very populous, and the seats of extensive manufactories and works of various descriptions. In Paisley there are three Roman Catholic schools, two of which are private, and supported by the fees of the scholars; the third is attended by about 120 pupils, and is supported by charitable contributions.—*Dunbarton*, on the Clyde, contains a chapel attended by about 500 almost exclusively Irish, which was opened in 1830, with two Sunday schools, one in Dunbarton, the other at Glenhead, seven miles distant.—*Greenock* contains a commodious chapel, opened in 1815, and fitted up for 400 persons, but which is now too small, owing to the rapid increase of the Irish in Greenock, the neighbouring town of Port-Glasgow, and the village of Gourock, who amount to nearly 5000 souls. There are two schools attached

to this chapel, the one in Greenock, the other in Port-Glasgow.—In the county town of *Ayr*, there is also a chapel, the incumbent of which officiates at Girvan every sixth or eighth Sunday, and at Irvine and Kilmarnock every alternate fourth Sunday.—In the county of Wigtou there is a *mission*, superintended by one priest, whose head quarters is at *Newton-Stewart*. It was established in 1825, and comprehends the whole seventeen parishes into which that county is divided, and two parishes in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. The *mission* is divided into four stations, in each of which the service of the Romish church is performed in succession, namely, Newton-Stewart, where a small chapel was erected in 1831, Stranraer, Whithorn, and Kirkmaiden. “Besides these,” says Mr Macpherson, “there are nine other places where the *sacrament of penance* is administered, and catechetical instruction given, either at fixed periods, or occasionally in the course of the year.” Between 2000 and 3000 persons are calculated to belong to this *mission*.—The burgh of *Campbelton* is the residence of a priest, who officiates occasionally at Rothesay in Bute, Largs in Ayrshire, Lochgilphead, and Inverary.—*Arisaig* contains a population of indigenous Roman Catholic Highlanders amounting to 1400, who are almost the number of the whole population. A chapel was built here some years ago by the chief of Clanranald; and there is another chapel, ten miles up the country, where the incumbent priest at Arisaig officiates once in three weeks.—In *Badenoch* and *Glengary* there are hundreds of indigenous Highland Romanists, but with wretched accommodation for their worship.—In the Island of *Eigg* there are two priests; one in *Barra Island*; three in *South Uist*;

and one at *Fort-William*, who also attends the Roman Catholics in the famous valley of Glencoe, about 100 in number, where the proprietor has offered ground to build a chapel.—In *Moydart*, by Strontian, there are two priests; two at *Loch Morar*, by Arisaig; and one at *Knoydart*. In all these Highland and Island districts the Roman Catholics are indigenous, there being no Irish. The above list contains all the stations in the *mission* of the Romish Western District.

We now go to the third or *Northern District* of the Romish Mission, and there we have a vicar-apostolic and three priests residing at the village of Preshome in Aberdeenshire, two of whom officiate, the one at the village of Buckie on the coast, where there are about 400 Roman Catholics, the service being performed in a large hall fitted up for the purpose; the other at Achinalrig in the neighbourhood. Another priest also officiates in the western part of the district called *the Enzie*, whose station is nominally in the Duke of Gordon's burgh of Fochabers, but who resides at Achinalrig. Near that place is a small chapel, erected about the year 1784 by the celebrated Dr Alexander Geddes, and enlarged by his successor. In Fochabers there is an elegant Gothic chapel, erected in 1827. Preshome, which appears to be the head-quarters of the district of *the Enzie*, contains a large, handsome, and commodious chapel, holding 800 persons, erected in 1788. About 1600 souls are said to be connected with this chapel.—The city of *Aberdeen* contains one chapel, dedicated to St Peter, and superintended by two priests.—There is a chapel at *Aquhorties*, by Keith-hall, the site of the Romish seminary before it was removed to Blairs.

—In *Huntly* there is a most elegant chapel, erected in 1834, dedicated to St Margaret, which can accommodate 400 persons. It has a spire nearly eighty feet high, which terminates in a crown surmounted by a cross, and contains a bell, this being the only Roman Catholic chapel in Scotland erected since the Reformation having a spire and a bell. It was built by a donation left for that purpose by a member of the family of Wardhouse, an ancient family in Aberdeenshire, cadets of the house of Gordon, which donation was increased by a gentleman of the same family resident in Spain.—In *Keith*, *Portsoy*, *Foggyloan*, by *Aberchirder*, *Elgin*, and *Dufftown* of *Mortlach*, the ancient seat of the bishops of Aberdeen, there are resident priests, who also officiate at various villages in their vicinity.—At *Tombae*, in *Glenlivet*, there is an elegant Gothic chapel, the front of which, of solid granite, is surmounted by four spires with a large cross in the centre.—In *Chapelton* of *Glenlivet*, there is a resident priest, and we are informed that an *abbé*, named Macpherson, built a few years ago “a large and commodious school-house, in which, besides the suitable apartments for the schoolmaster and schoolmistress, there are two large halls, the one for the boys’ school, the other for that of the girls. In both these schools, which are now open, there are from 160 to 200 children who are indebted to him (the *abbé*) for the blessings of education. The other stations of this *mission* in the northern district are *Tomantoul*, *Ballogie* by *Kincardine* *O’Neil*, *Ardoch*, *Castleton* of *Braemar*, *Inverness*, *Eskadale*, *Strathglass* and *Fasnakyle*, both by *Beaully*, *Dornie* in *Kintail*, and *Wick* in *Caithness*, at all of which places priests are stationed; but in

the last mentioned place the Romish service is only performed during the fishing season.

We have thus gone minutely into the statistics of the Romish Church in Scotland at the present time, and the reader will admit that it is neither so feeble nor so unimportant as we are generally taught to believe. The truth is that in many districts of the Eastern, Western, and Northern Highlands, the Established Presbyterian Church has an exceedingly slender hold among the people; the great majority are Roman Catholics and members of the Scottish Episcopal Church, for many of the Highlanders are devotedly attached to the latter communion. The Romish Church has had a footing in the Highlands for centuries, from which it will be extremely difficult to be dislodged. The Highlanders are notoriously bigoted in their long-cherished opinions; there is something in the constitution of Popery and of Protestant Episcopacy which is remarkably in unison with their ideas of clanship, chieftainship, and family importance. Their ancestors have been all of those churches, and few require to be told of the proverbial love of ancestry which distinguishes the Highlanders. They see the bishop, whether popish or protestant, coming amongst them, attended by clergy and laity who pay to him deferential honours; some of their chiefs belong to the Romish religion, and many Highlanders make it a point to belong to the religion of their chief. They are, moreover, proverbially superstitious, and are fond of ceremonials which have something of a mysterious aspect. They are, comparatively speaking, an isolated people, who are centuries behind the Low Countries in inventions, improvements, and the arts; and they have their imaginary grievances and their

traditional dislike to the Lowlanders, which foster their prejudices in their own country. To an educated and a religiously constituted mind, those peculiarities of the Scottish Highlanders may seem puerile, and easy to be obliterated; but it is not so, and every one knows how difficult it is, even in more favoured circumstances, to overcome the prejudices of early education and habit. It is much more so among a pastoral people, whose immediate ancestors have accustomed them to view the arts and sciences of mechanical life as contemptible, and as unworthy of those who dwell amid rocky fastnesses, towering mountains, and inland glens; whose whole lives were at one time regulated by their traditions, and whose predatory habits long excluded them from any kindred feeling with their fellow subjects of the Lowlands.

These remarks are made chiefly in the hope that, into whose hands soever the present volume may fall, the view which has now been taken will excite them to additional ardour in their attempts to ameliorate and enlighten their Highland countrymen. Aided by the exertions of many philanthropic individuals, much has the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland done to foster and extend the doctrines of the Protestant Church throughout the Highlands; they have erected churches, planted schools, and supported missionaries. Yet much remains to be achieved; they have both the means and the power to proceed in their plans of amelioration and improvement; and it would be doubly criminal in them, if, with their resources and influence, they relax in their efforts, or cease to disseminate knowledge and religion among the rising generation.

But is popery increasing in Scotland at the present time? Is it spreading among the people, inducing them to renounce the protestant faith, and undermining the protestant institutions as by law established? Is the pretended increase of the adherents of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland a sure sign that protestantism is on the wane, and an indication of its subversion in turn, and of the ancient hierarchy once more gaining the ascendancy? These are queries which must be answered by the calm and impartial inquirer, not by the Romish devotee on the one hand, who, ever sanguine in the accounts of its progress, imagines that it will one day be revived and reinstated in all its pristine glory; nor yet by the protestant, who may take fright at every over-coloured representation of the progress of popery, as if that system was really riding in the chariot of prosperity, reclaiming heretics by thousands to its allegiance and sway; and who, wrought upon more by his fears than guided by his reason, sees the stake, the faggot, and the fire again in operation to reclaim or punish refractory nonconformists. Those days have long since passed, and, however much we are disinclined to confide in the tender mercies of popery if it had the power, have passed never to return. But a minute investigation as to the real state of the case is not without interest, and will enable us to view it in a prudential and philosophical manner.

It must be obvious to every one, therefore, that the apparently formidable increase of popery in Scotland is to be ascribed to the great and continual influx of Irish labourers, chiefly of the lowest class, who, knowing nothing but poverty in their own country, and that they

cannot be worse any where, but have rather every chance to become more comfortable in circumstances elsewhere, never return to Ireland. These people are, with very rare exceptions, devoted Roman Catholics; they are to be found in all the cities and large towns, and in the manufacturing and mechanical districts; they rear their children in the same creed, inculcating at the same time a bitter hatred of protestantism. In addition to this, we have now a Scoto-Irish population, who, intermarrying with protestants, are exhorted by their spiritual advisers to use every means for their conversion, and who, at all events, educate their children in the exclusive principles of Roman Catholicism. Here is in itself a continual increase of the Romish communion, aided always, if not daily, by new importations from Ireland. In the course of two or three generations, these people, although descended from Irish protestants, become Scottish in every thing but their family name; their associations are all connected with the country in which they were born, and not with a country from which their fathers or grandfathers came, and which they never saw; but they adhere tenaciously to a religion in which they have been educated, and which comes to them with additional authority, not only on account of its high pretensions, but because adherence to it is a matter of principle, and, perhaps, because it is the only legacy left them by their predecessors. In addition to this, the Irish Roman Catholics in Scotland being all, with very few exceptions, of the lower orders, form a kind of community by themselves; the Scotch have a natural reluctance to associate with them, not only on account of their religion, but also on account of their alleged turbulent

and ferocious dispositions. Many of them have been so conspicuous in the annals of crime, that they have themselves excited the prejudices of the people against them—of a people, be it observed, more likely than any other in the British empire to imbibe strong and sometimes unfounded prejudices, and to cherish them most religiously, because they are not of volatile or changeable dispositions. We are right therefore to conclude, and indeed the Scottish Roman Catholic clergy admit the fact themselves, that the increase of popery in Scotland is solely to be ascribed to the influx of the Irish population, and their prolific descendants, and not to any progress which it is making among the Scottish people.

As to the *indigenous* Scottish Roman Catholics, especially in the Highlands, it is greatly to be doubted whether they are not actually decreasing. We say not positively that such is the case, but it is possible that all the statements set forth by the members of the Romish Church are merely *ex parte* assertions for political and pecuniary purposes. Such, at least, is the opinion of gentlemen, both of the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches, well acquainted and intimately connected with the Highland districts. It is readily admitted that the stronghold of popery is in the Highlands. “There,” as a writer in the *British Magazine*, August 1832, well observes, “the parishes are of such an extent,* as to render it utterly impracticable for the parochial minister regularly to visit his flock, or for them to attend divine service: and living in remote glens, the young have not the means of learning to read, their parents being unable

* It is well known that some of the parishes in the Highlands are as extensive as some of the Lowland counties.

to teach them, and the distance from the parochial school too great for them to attend. In such districts popery flourishes; the priests are indefatigable in their exertions; and there is reason to believe that in the Western Islands there are hundreds ignorant of the existence of protestantism." The allusions made by this writer have been proved in the preceding sketch to be correct. But there is one pleasing feature in the history of the *indigenous* Roman Catholics of Scotland which ought not to be forgotten. There is no rancorous hatred or religious animosity existing between them and their Protestant neighbours, whether Presbyterian or Episcopal, in these districts, such as that which exists between the Irish and the Scoto-Irish Romanists and the Protestants in the large cities, towns, and manufacturing and labouring localities. On the contrary, in many things they have a common feeling: both are Scotch, whose ancestors have dwelt in these glens and straths for centuries; both know each other from infancy, and, as they phrase it, *their fathers before them*; they are not viewed as interlopers, but as belonging, as it were, to the soil; their chiefs, their clans, their connections, can be enumerated by each. Both are a primitive people, without animosities and without resentments. "It is but justice to remark," says a writer on this subject, while alluding to the Scottish Roman Catholics in the Highlands, "that the utmost harmony prevails when the two churches (Romish and Protestant) come into contact; that the Catholic people are among the most orderly and industrious of the population; and that no political or other grievances seem to be felt. The children of Catholics are in general educated at the parish schools; and in those parts of the

Highlands where the Catholics are the most numerous, few or none but Protestant teachers are employed, the adherents to both religions seeming equally anxious to avail themselves of the means of instruction put in their power.* There is a striking contrast here between the habits of these primitive *indigenous* Roman Catholics in the Highlands, and the *casual* Irish and the Scoto-Irish Roman Catholics in the cities and towns, which well demands the attention of their spiritual instructors. There are indeed Romish schools in Edinburgh and Glasgow, into which, says the reverend editor of the Catholic Directory for Scotland, 1835, "Protestant children are also received; but though the teachers be Catholics, the religion of the Protestant children is not interfered with." To this it may be safely replied, that children have *no religion*, because they are not of an age to understand what religion is, or what is the more scriptural form of it, while they are children. Every one will at once see that this is an insidious device, which has been often adopted by other men as well as Roman Catholics, to lay a foundation for future converts. The teacher, it is admitted, is a *Catholic*, the majority of the children are brought up in that principle; *some* of the Romish tenets and ritual must be taught in these schools, otherwise we must infer that there is no religion taught in them at all, in which case they are not only useless but mischievous.

Yet it is said the Roman Catholics are increasing in

* Encyclopædia Edinensis, edited by Sir David Brewster, article SCOTLAND, written by the late John M'Culloch, M.D. and F.R.S., the distinguished geologist, and author of a well known work on the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

Scotland, that is, they are making converts to their system. The editor of the "Catholic Directory for Scotland" informs us that the bishop, or vicar-apostolic, of the Eastern District, "administered the sacrament of confirmation," as the Roman Catholics perversely term that rite, "on the 9th of November [1834], on which occasion upwards of two hundred persons, *some of whom were converts*, were confirmed;" and on the 4th of May that year, seventy persons were confirmed at Perth. In the Western District, upwards of 2000 individuals were confirmed in the Western Highlands and Islands during the summer of 1834; 280 were also confirmed in Glasgow, 127 in Ayr, and 157 in Newton-Stewart and Stranraer. And in the Northern District, 60 persons were confirmed at Chapeltown of Glenlivet, and 22 at Dufftown in Braemar. It is not for the present writer to question the accuracy of the above statements, but it is fair that the number of deserters every year should be exhibited along with the number of converts; and thus, keeping out of view altogether the influx of Irish labourers and others, we would have a fair statistical account of the fact, and we would at once see whether popery is actually increasing, as its supporters pretend, and as visionary alarmists believe, or whether it is, we shall not say decreasing, but even stationary in its numbers.

But it cannot be denied that there is at the present day a strong disposition on the part of many to view the ritual and worship of the Church of Rome not with indifference merely, but with admiration. Its services are imposing and pompous, its decorations gorgeous, its ceremonies dazzling to an imagination excited by novelty,

deceived by appearances, or wrought upon by a species of romantic feeling; and many resort to its ceremonies for a variety of reasons, without reflecting on what they hear inculcated, or on the nature of what they witness. The Roman Catholic priests, moreover, know well how to accommodate themselves to circumstances. In Scotland, where they have much to encounter, their sermons are seldom offensive, seldom even illustrative of their own peculiar dogmas; and when they are so, they are delivered in a manner more apt to throw the protestant listener off his guard, than to excite his suspicions, which would undoubtedly be the case if he heard an open and undisguised attack on his religion. There is something also in the pleas of antiquity and of universality, which the Roman Catholics set up in defence or illustration, which is not without effect on superficial minds. The solemn service, the vestments, the manner in which their service is conducted, and the apparent devotion which prevails throughout their congregations during divine worship, arrests the attention of the spectator, and on many leave a favourable impression. For this reason it is, that many Presbyterians and other Protestants are more liable to be seduced into a partiality for the Romish service from its external ceremonies than the Episcopalians. The latter, besides the views which they hold of the doctrines and constitution of the Protestant Church, have a ritual and a service which combine all the external attractions of popery, without its deformities or unmeaning and useless ceremonies, and are seldom seduced into the Romish Church; whereas many Protestants of other communions, who are fond of music and of observances differing from those forms which exist

among themselves, are more likely to be captivated by the gorgeous exhibitions of the Romish ritual. These observations apply merely to the *possibility* of the thing, from the constitution of some minds, who are apt to be led astray by various modes of enthusiasm and external show; and the reader will not therefore infer that any allusions are made to facts, for, if there be such instances, we are ignorant of them.

It must at the same time not be forgotten, that the Roman Catholics of late years, especially in the cities and large towns of Scotland, have assumed a position which formerly they never attempted. Before their present chapels were erected in Edinburgh and Glasgow, their services were held, and their ceremonies conducted, in obscure lanes and houses, unknown and disregarded by the community at large. Since the erection of these chapels, however, they have come prominently forward. If the head of their church the Pope or one of their bishops dies, or if a bishop elect is to be consecrated, the funeral obsequies of the former, or the splendid ceremonies on the occasion of the latter, are pompously announced in the newspapers of the day, inviting Protestants to attend, whose curiosity prompts them to be present, and to express their admiration of the performances. Their ceremonies at Christmas and Easter are duly paragraphed; and a high mass cannot be said, or intended to be said, without its being made publicly known. We here make no invidious allusions. These facts specially show how times change, and with them the minds of men.

The history of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, from the era of its overthrow to the present time,

is laid before the reader in the foregoing narrative, without partiality or partizanship of any description. The object of the present writer has been to narrate facts, not to form conjectures, or to enter into abstract discussions. "A great book," says the inspired moralist, "is a great evil;" and the spirit of the times seems practically to assent to the observation. Happy will the author feel, while he launches this little work on the uncertain ocean of popular favour, if he has been the humble means in any way of elucidating a subject on which much has been written, and many opinions formed; but which, even at this late period, men are prone to discuss with as much acrimony as if they had been personal actors in the events here recorded, and with a bitterness and a hatred at variance with the apostolic injunction, to "prove all things, and to hold fast that which is good."

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